



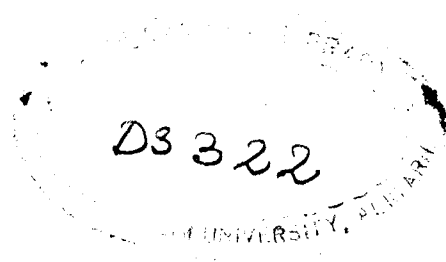
# Relations Between the Sultanates of Malwa and Gujarat

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By  
**FAIZA SIMIN**


Under the Supervision of  
**Mr. Iqtidar Alam Khan**

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It is to certify that  
Miss Faiza Simin's M.Phil. dissertation  
"Relations Between the Sultanates of  
Malwa and Gujarat" is based on her original  
research and it is ready for submission for the  
award of M.Phil. degree.

  
(IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN)  
Reader, Department of  
History, AMU, Aligarh.

20.5.1982

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*Faiza Simin*  
Faiza Simin

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N \_

The disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate under the Tughlaq dynasty brought in its wake a number of regional powers. Such were the origins of the regional kingdoms that rose-up in the adjacent, but geographically demarcated, territories of Malwa and Gujarat. This situation had a long historical tradition going as far back as the 4th century B.C. : A strong, central authority, based in the Plains of Northern India, and having the capacity to hold together vast territories, would also rule over both these regions - but only so long as it could subdue the turbulent chieftains in these territories.

The Mauryan Empire (400 B.C. - 185 B.C.) was perhaps the first power to achieve this position.<sup>(1)</sup> A similar position<sup>(2)</sup> obtained under the Guptas (395 A.D. - 470 A.D.). - The only instance when a regional power, not having at its disposal the vast resources of northern India, simultaneously controlled both

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(1) For Mauryan hold over Gujarat and Malwa, see M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, vol. I, Bombay, 1938, pp. XXV, XXVI. The edicts of Ashoka, found at Girnar and Sopara, are cited by him in this connexion.

(2) Cf. the coins of Samudra Gupta and the Girnar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, dated 456 A.D., and incised on Asokan rock edict (M.S. Commissariat, op.cit., p. XVII); Joseph Schwartzberg, A Historical Atlas of South Asia, Chicago & London, 1978, Plate XIV, I, p. 145.

Gujarat and Malwa is of the Kshatrapas during the 2nd century  
(1)

A.D. — an exception only proving the rule that, in the absence of a strong central power, Gujarat and Malwa had the tendency to slip under the control of independent authorities which would be confined to their natural boundaries. As a matter of fact, for the major part of the period intervening between the fall of the Gupta Empire and the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate there flourished in Malwa and Gujarat a number of regional powers that were resistant of integration under a central power. During this period several minor dynasties, notably, the Vakatakas, the Hunas, the later Guptas and the early Kalachurias; the Paramaras, the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chavadas (also called Chalukyas or Solankis) and the Vaghelas, etc. separately held these rich and fertile plains under their sovereignty.  
(2)

Alauddin Khalji conquered Gujarat in 1298-99 A.D.

(3) (698 A.H.) and then Malwa in 1304-5 A.D. (704 A.H.) and (4)

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- (1) M.S. Commissariat, op.cit., pp. XXXII-XX-XXXV. Refers to Chastana's coin and Rudraman I's rock edict inscription of Girnar near Junagarh, dated 150 A.D.
- (2) For details regarding all these local dynasties, see M.S. Commissariat, op.cit., pp. IV, VI, XXXVIII-XXXIX, IXXVII-IXXIX; also J.K. Forbes, Ras Mala, OUP, Vol. I, pp. 252, 257-8; V.B. Mishra The Gurjara-Pratiharas and Their Times, New Delhi, 1966, p. 52; Joseph Schwartzberg, op.cit., Plates XIV, Nos. I-III, pp. 145-47.
- (3) Yahya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1931, p. 76; Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i Akbari, Newal Kishore ed., 1875, Vol. I, pp. 69-70; Firishta, Tarikh-i Firishta, Newal Kishore ed., 1884, Vol. I, p. 103. Also Commissariat op.cit. p. 2; SC Misra (The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat, Barod p. 63) is of the view that although Gujarat was conquered in 1298-89 AD. it was not attached to the Delhi Sultanate until 1305 A.D.
- (4) See Nizamuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p. 72; Firishta, op.cit., p. 115;

annexed both the regions to the Delhi Sultanate . Henceforth, Gujarat and Malwa practically remained a part of the Delhi Sultanate till the end of the 14th cent. A. D.

The beginning of the 15th century saw the collapse of the Tughlaq dynasty under the impact of Timur's invasion and Governors of provinces like Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, etc., proclaimed their independence. <sup>(1)</sup> Though these regional kingdoms were <sup>the</sup> products of anarchy, and harboured mutual tensions and conflicts, they continued to exist, with varying fortunes, down to the end of the 15th century.

Gujarat became independent in 1407-8 A.D. (810 A.H.) when its last Tughlaq Governor, Zafar Khan, taking advantage of Timur's invasion, assumed the sovereign title of Muzaffar Shah I. <sup>(2)</sup> This dynasty ruled over Gujarat from 1407-8 A.D. to 1572-73 (810 A.H.- 980 A.H.). It was abolished only after <sup>(3)</sup> Akbar finally annexed Gujarat to the Mughal Empire.

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- P.
- (4) f.n. of prev. contd.:
- Rushbrook Williams, An Empire Builder of Sixteenth Century, Delhi, 1916, p. 10. All of these concur on 1304-5 AD as the date of the annexation of Malwa. But Yahya Sirhindi (op.cit., pp. 77-78) places the event in 1300 AD (700 AH).
- (1) Yahya Sirhindi, op.cit., p. 168; Nizamuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p. 129; Sheikh Abdul Haque Muhaddas Dehalvi, Zikr-ul Muluk (also, Tarikh-i Haqqi), MS. in Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh 1595-6 A.D., p. 26; Firsihta, op.cit., p. 159.
- (2) Baburnama, Bombay, 1890, p. 189; Nizamuddin Ahmad, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 448; Sheikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehalvi, op.cit., p. 26; Firsihta, op.cit., vol. II, p. 181; Sikender bin Manjhu, Mirat-i Sikanderi, Baroda, 1961, p. 21.
- (3) Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 368-72; Nizamuddin Ahmad, op.cit., p. 444.



Similarly the kingdom of Malwa was established in 1404-5 A.D. (807 A.H.) by Dilawar Khan Ghorī who had been appointed Governor of the region by the last Tughlaq ruler, Sultan Muhammad Shah. <sup>(1)</sup> With the replacement of the Ghorī dynasty by the Khaljīs in 1438-9 A.D. (842 A.H.), Mahmud Khaljī I seized power in Malwa after poisoning Ghazni Khan. <sup>(2)</sup> The kings of this dynasty ruled Malwa till 1531-32 (937 A.H.). Subsequently <sup>(3)</sup> Malwa was annexed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

In this dissertation we have aimed a review of the long history of interaction between the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat during the period from 1407 A.D. to 1526 A.D. While our study of the years 1407 - 1498 A.D. is in the nature of a background, a more detailed treatment of the evidence for the period 1498 A.D. - 1526 A.D. has been attempted.

The study has been undertaken in the hope that it would, on the one hand, give fresh insights into the nature and causes of struggle and discord between the two states in question during the 15th and first quarter of the 16th centuries. On the

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- (1) Nizamuddin Ahmad, p.533; Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehlevi, p.26; Firishta, p.234.  
 (2) ~~Shahab~~ Shihab Hakim, Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, Delhi, 1968, pp.33-5; Nizamuddin Ahmad, p.461; Firishta, p.190.  
 (3) Nizamuddin Ahmad, pp. 501-2; Firishta, p.287; Sikander bin Manjhu, op.cit., pp. 277-8.

other hand, it might provide us with an analogy for the kind of socio-political conflicts and compromises that were developing in Northern and Central India as a whole, on the eve of Babur's invasion.

The reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah (1410-1441 AD), Sultan Mahmud Shah Begada (1459-1511 A.D.), and Sultan Muzaffar Shah II (1511-1526 A.D.) constitute a watershed in the annals of Gujarat. For, it was during this period that Gujarat emerged as the most powerful state, playing an important role in shaping politics in Northern India. It had a flourishing trade with the Delhi Sultanate, Malwa, and other regions of the Indian sub-continent, to which parts it exported several of its products. Salt was one of the major items of export from Gujarat to neighbouring areas. <sup>(1)</sup> The bulk of the white salt produced at Jhejwara was exported to Malwa. <sup>(2)</sup> Moreover, Gujarat, by virtue of its position on the Western Coastline of India, traded with other countries of the world via its numerous sea-ports. <sup>(3)</sup> All these made for economic prosperity and, consequently,

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- (1) Among the more important salt producing areas of Gujarat were Broach, Cambay, Godhara, Ahmedabad, and Jhejwara.
  - (2) See Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i Ahmadi, Bombay, 1889. Vol. I, p. 15.
  - (3) Regarding the contribution of Gujarati sea-ports to its prosperity, Sikander Lodi used to say, "The pivot of the Delhi Sultanate is jowar and bajra, while the pivot of the Sultanate of Gujarat is coral and pearl," (Sikander bin Manjhu, op.cit., pp. 309-10; Ali Muhammad Khan, op.cit., p. 24; E. Pearson, The Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat, New Delhi, 1976, p. 42).

(1)  
Gujarat could maintain a large army. From about 1507 onwards  
its army came to be equipped with a more sophisticated kind  
(2)  
of field guns acquired from West Asia.

Possessed with large financial resources and an  
impressive war machinery, the rulers of Gujarat, (specially  
Sultan Mahmud Begada and Sultan Muzaffar Shah II) could check  
the growing might of Rajput zamindars in their kingdom. It was  
the zamindars inside Gujarat that the powerful  
in the course of their efforts to suppress, the zamindars of  
Champanir, Idar, and Junagarh were annexed. Simultaneously  
they encroached on the territories of Malwa, occupying portions  
of it that belonged to the Khalji state governing the region.  
The same period also witnessed the success of the Gujaratis  
(3)  
and their allies against the Portuguese near Chaul.

In the case of Malwa, the reigns of Sultan Hoshang  
Shah (1407-1435 A.D.) and Sultan Mahmud Khalji I (1438-1469 A.D.)  
are most remarkable. During their reigns Malwa became highly  
prosperous. The cultivation of goodgrains in Malwa was

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(1) Cf. Sikander Manjhu (op.cit., p.112) who records that in the  
early days of Sultan Mahmud Begada the army was expanded to  
such an extent that the entire countryside of Gujarat stood  
distributed among the soldiers in lieu of salaries and not a  
single village remained in Khalisa for four years.

(2) Mirat-i Ahmadi, Vol.I, p.125.

(3) Sharfuddin Mahmud Bukhari, Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi, (MS).162,  
pp.17-18; Sikander bin Manjhu, op.cit., pp. ~~320-28~~. 147

extensive enough to yield surpluses for export to Gujarat and other places. Wheat (which was cultivated on a large scale in the sarkar of Garh)<sup>(1)</sup> was an important item in the export of cereals. Raw opium was another item exported to Gujarat. According to Barbosa, the opium processed at Cambay,<sup>(2)</sup> was produced at Malwa. An increase in the military strength of Malwa during this period is evident from the annexation of, besides several zamindaris on its own periphery and in the hinterland,<sup>(3)</sup> a number of places belonging to Mewar.

From our study of the sources it appears that constant attempts were made by the rulers of both Gujarat and Malwa to maintain the existing balance of power in the region. Until 1526 the ruler of neither state seriously tried to abolish the rival dynasty, even when circumstances seemed to permit such a drastic measure. After 1526, however, there is a change, and the kingdom of Malwa was eventually annexed to Gujarat by Bahadur Shah in 1531-32 A.D.

My dissertation have been devoted to an examination of the circumstances in which the deliberate orientation of the

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(1) For the export of foodgrains from Malwa to Gujarat, see, Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari, Bib. Ind., Vol.I, pp.456-85; Vol.II, pp.94-95, 114-16. Also see Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, London, 1920, p.244; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, p.73; Pearson, op.cit., p.13.

(2) Barbosa, op.cit., Vol.II, p.230; Also Irfan Habib, op.cit., p.74.

(3) See Chapter I for a discussion of all these conquests.

two states towards maintaining a balance of power in the region came to be undermined - resulting in the loss of their independent identities and the absorption of the entire region, once again, into an imperial system based in the Plains of Northern India.

The First Chapter takes up the question of the political boundary between Gujarat and Malwa. Here I have tried to piece together the territorial adjustments occurring, from time to time, between the two states. Theoretically, these resulted from either a state of confrontation and tussle or a state of mutual understanding and alliance against a common foe as, for instance, against the Rajput chiefs owing allegiance to the Sisodias of Mewar.

The burden of my Second Chapter is an examination of the well-known thesis of Rushbrook Williams<sup>(1)</sup>, according to which the period covered by us was marked by an increasing alignment of regional states along religious lines, so much so that the emerging blocks of "Hindu" and "Muslim" powers were in a state of collision with each other. Rushbrook William's presentation of the problem creates the inevitable impression that religious animosity and discord were the primary and most potent factors shaping the relations between Malwa, Gujarat, and Mewar. I have tried to check the authenticity of this view by

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(1) Rushbrook William, <sup>An</sup> and Empire Builder of the 16th century  
Allahabad, 1915.

an analysis of the actual perception of the rulers of the two states, and their advisers, as reflected in the claims and counter-claims made by them at different points of time.

The Third Chapter deals entirely with the role played by the zamindars in either supporting or subverting the regional balance sought to be maintained by Gujarat and Malwa kingdoms.

Chapter IV is a scrutiny of the role of Ulemas and Mashaikhs in the relations between Gujarat and Malwa. Here I have tried to assess the extent to which state policies were formulated according to the tenets of the Shariat because of the direct or indirect intervention of the religious classes. This would give the clue to the degree of influence they could exercise on the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat; and, also, how far this influence was instrumental in pushing the two states into an alliance with each other for carrying on a "jihad" in the territories of the neighbouring Hindu rajas. The Chapter is, therefore in part, a re-examination of Rushbrook William's view.

As far as possible we have endeavoured to move from generalities to specific facts. It is hoped that the venture would enable us to overcome, in part at least, the bias built into the bulk of our Persian chronicles. The use of the accounts of European Travellers and of Inscriptions is also to the same purpose. Unfortunately, no modern work on this particular theme as such is available and we have thus been denied a much desired help.

## Sources

The source material on the relations of the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat, though problematic in nature, is available in a variety of forms and throws light on various aspects of this relationship. It is quite extensive and varied to sustain a detailed study of the history of the relations of the two states during the 15th and first quarter of the 16th centuries. One serious draw-back of the literary sources is that they are later works, mostly regional histories compiled during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. But at the same time contemporary literary writings are not altogether absent and the ones that are available are quite rich in original information on our subject. The information furnished by the literary sources is supplemented by the surviving inscriptions and also by the accounts left behind by the European travellers of the 17th century. The last mentioned category of source material is particularly useful for working out the economic interdependence of the two kingdoms and enables us to discern the Geo-political factors shaping their mutual relations.

The earliest work used by me for purposes of background information on the subject is Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi of Yahya Sirhindi, compiled at Delhi during the reign of Sultan Mubarak

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- (1) Yahya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, Text: ed. by, M. Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1931.

Shah in 838 A.H./ 1434-35 A.D. Yahya Sirhindi, apparently, wrote this book for the perusal of his employer and patron, Sultan Mubarak Shah. This is indicated by his comment that, "it (the book) is a suitable token of esteem and affection to the ruler, for no more worthy offering can be made to a king than a record of the achievements of his predecessors."<sup>(1)</sup> Thus, it may be expected, the Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi contains all the drawbacks and advantages of a court history. Its account is naturally tailored to glorify the role of Mubarak Shah and his predecessor but, at the same time, it furnishes copious information that was available to its author on the political history of the period from official papers. The information furnished by Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi on the early history of Malwa-Gujarat relations is unique and thus is of very great significance for our study.

Another very early work that helped us greatly in understanding and interpreting our problem in its true historical perspective, is Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi by Mahmud Kirmani,<sup>(2)</sup> popularly known as Shihab Hakim, a court historian of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I (1438-39 - 1469 A.D.) of Malwa. Shihab Hakim mainly concentrates on the expansion of Malwa kingdom under

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(1) The narrative in the book commences from the period of Muhammad Sam, the founder of the Ghorī dynasty and continues upto Rabi'I 838 A.H./1434-35 AD. For information on the earlier period the author seems to have used authentic sources like Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Barni.

(2) Shihab Hakim, Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, Text, ed. by, S.Nurul Hasan Hashmi, Delhi, 1968.



Mahmud Khalji I. The work was completed by him around 1567 A.D. Its information though selected with the clear bias towards glorifying the military achievements of Mahmud Khalji does bring into relief a new equilibrium of political forces arrived at in the Malwa-Gujarat region following the accretion of military strength to Malwa as a result of its victories over the chieftains located on its frontier. This evidence and the process it highlights, must be kept in view if Sultan Mahmud Begada's cautious but aggressive policy towards Malwa is to be properly understood.

(1)

The Riyaz-ul-Insha of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan (813 A.H./1410-11 A.D. - 886 A.H./1481-82 A.D.) being the only collection of letters (compiled in India) known to have survived from the 15th century should naturally be regarded as a very important source. This famous collection contains letters written by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan as prime minister of the Bahmani Empire to the contemporary rulers, nobles, 'ulema and other men of eminence in India as well as in West Asia. Many of these letters are of a diplomatic nature and therefore of especial significance for our study. The affairs of Gujarat and Malwa, in particular the political and military alignments of these kingdoms with the Bahmani kingdom, have found mention in some

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(1) Mahmud Gawan, Riyaz-ul-Insha, Text. ed. by Shaikh Chand with introduction and notes, 1948, Hyderabad Deccan.

of the letters preserved in Riyaz-ul-Insha. These letters are of help in ascertaining the sequence of events or the causal pattern of developments in connection with these kingdoms - some thing which would have been difficult to achieve merely on the basis of the Persian chronicles.

The earliest history of Gujarat used by us in this study, is Tabqat-i Mahmud Shah, (the last surviving part of Tarikh-i Gujarat)<sup>(1)</sup> by Sharfuddin Mahmud Bukhari. The exact date of the compilation of this book is not mentioned anywhere, and internal evidence too remains silent. But from a note of the copyist in the colophon of the surviving manuscript, to the effect that Sharfuddin, the author of the book, passed away on 10th Safar 921 A.H./26th March 1515 A.D. one may conclude that this book was compiled some time before that date. In the preface of the book, the author<sup>(2)</sup> informs us that the book is divided into three tabaqat, but unfortunately only the last tabqa of the book covering the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada (863 A.H./1458-59 A.D.-917 A.H./1510-11 A.D.) is available. It is obvious that the

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- (1) Sharfuddin Mahmud Bukhari, Tabqat-i Mahmud Shahi: MS. in Maulana Azad Library, AMU Aligarh. Farsiya Akhbar, 162. It has a total of 20 folios and is written in Nastaliq script.
- (2) According to the author the first tabqa dealt with ~~the~~ Zafar Khan (743 A.H./1312-43 A.D. - 813 A.H./1410-11 A.D.); the second recorded the history of Gujarat for the period between 1410-11 to 1458 A.D.

author who lived in Gujarat during Sultan Mahmud Begada's reign, was an eye witness to what he records in the surviving section of the book. The information supplied by the author, although presented in a language having religious overtones,<sup>(1)</sup> is by and large authentic and useful.

The histories of Gujarat compiled during the 16th and 17th centuries appear either in the form of separate sections of general histories such as for example to be found in Tabqat-i Akbari<sup>(2)</sup> and Tarikh-i Firishta<sup>(3)</sup>; or in the form of full-fledged chronicle concerned mainly with regional developments. Both these are indeed very rich in factual details and furnish enormous evidence on diplomatic ties and military conflicts in the states of Gujarat, Malwa and Mewar dating from the time of their existence as separate entities. Some of these works had been written in the Mughal Empire by officials who were posted in the Mughal suba of Gujarat.

Two very early chronicles of this nature are Tarikh-i Gujarat by Abu Turab Wali, compiled sometime between 1584 and

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- (1) He depicts Sultan Mahmud Begada as the scourge of unorthodoxy and a defender of Islam and goes to the extent of comparing him with Sultan Mahmud Ghazni. The only difference between the two great men, was that the Aggar had former had no Firdausi, who could immortalize his name by composing something comparable with the Sultan Namah.
  - (2) Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqat-i Akbari: vols. I and III, Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1875.
  - (3) Firishta, Tarikh-i Firishta, vols. I & II, Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1865-66 A.D.

(1)  
1597; and Tarikh-i Salatin-i Gujarat of Mahmud Bukhari,  
completed sometime after the annexation of Gujarat to the  
Mughal Empire in 980 A.H./1572-73 A.D.<sup>(2)</sup> But unfortunately  
these works do not furnish any worthwhile information on  
the problem that we have undertaken to study in this disserta-  
tion. In this category may be included, An Arabic History  
of Gujarat (Zafar-ul-Walih bi Muzaffar Wa Alihi), compiled  
by Abdullah Muhammed better known as Haji-ud-Dabir in the  
year 1014 A.H./1605-6 A.D.<sup>(3)</sup> Another work belonging to this  
category is Sikander bin Manjhu's Mirat-i Sikandari,<sup>(4)</sup> written  
in the year 1020 A.H./1611-12 A.D. Last but not the least  
is Mirat-i Ahmadi of Muhammed Hasan alias Ali Muhammad Khan,<sup>(5)</sup>  
who completed this monumental work around 1174 A.H./1761 A.D.  
These are all general regional histories on the political  
history of Gujarat enabling one to work out a connected  
chronology of events from the time an independent kingdom  
was established in the region in the beginning of the 15th  
century to the time when these books were written. For the

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- (1) Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i Gujarat, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1908.  
(2) Mahmud Bukhari, Tarikh-i Salatin-i Gujarat, Text. ed. by; S.A.I. Tirmizi, Aligarh Historical Institute, 1960.  
(3) Haji-ud Dabir, An Arabic History of Gujarat; 2 Volumes. Tr. by; M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda, 1970.  
(4) Sikander bin Manjhu, Mirat-i Sikandari, Text. ed. by; SC Misra and ML Rehman, Baroda, 1961.  
(5) Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i Ahmadi, Baroda, 1930.

earlier period these authors seem to have used authentic sources accessible to them. This is borne out by the fact that the version of events given in one book rarely contradicts that one given in the other. But at the same time each one of them furnishes original information not to be found elsewhere. Among these works Mirat-i Ahmadi is of particular significance as it provides us with a detailed administrative history of Gujarat based on imperial farmans, manshurs, nishāns, parwanāhs, dasturul Amals etc. It is true that the information supplied by the Mirat almost entirely relates to the Mughal period; but in so far as it occasionally identifies places, specifies the limits of administrative or fiscal units, or helps in working out the position and locale of a zamindar clan, it has proved useful.

The specific information furnished by Abul Fazl in his account of twelve subas in the Ain-i Akbari<sup>(1)</sup> on the extent of individual sarkars and the dominant zamindar castes of different parganas in the sarkars has been of great help in drawing the boundaries of the two kingdoms as also in locating the territories of the zamindars with whom these powers had to deal and who in turn played notable role in shaping their mutual relations. Moreover the Tabqat-i Akbari

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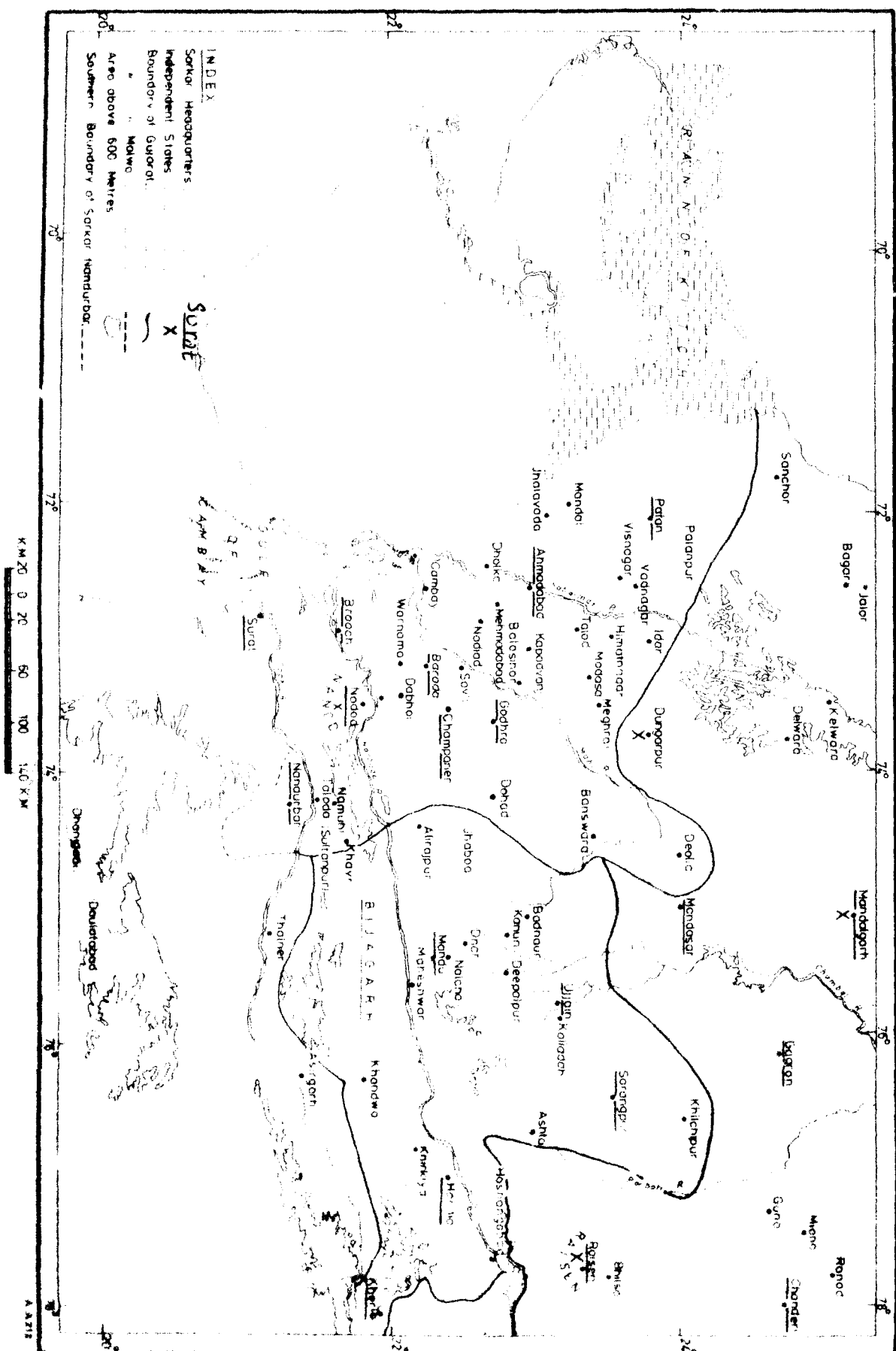
(1) Abul Fazl Allami, Ain-i Akbari; Vol.II, B.M., Add: 7652. I have used Blochmann's edition of Ain-i Akbari, I & II Habibganj Collection, Azad Library, AMU.

of Nizamuddin Ahmad, and Gulshan-i Ibrahimi (commonly known as Tarikh-i Firishta) of Muhammad Wasim Hindu Beg Firishta contain separate sections on the political history of Malwa. These sections have been used to supplement the information provided by other sources.

As already stated, an attempt has also been made to utilize all the relevant information available in the accounts of European travellers and in the form of surviving inscriptions of our region brought to light in Epigraphia Indica and other books besides. But, compared with the total mass of the evidences, the information gleaned from these sources is rather meagre.

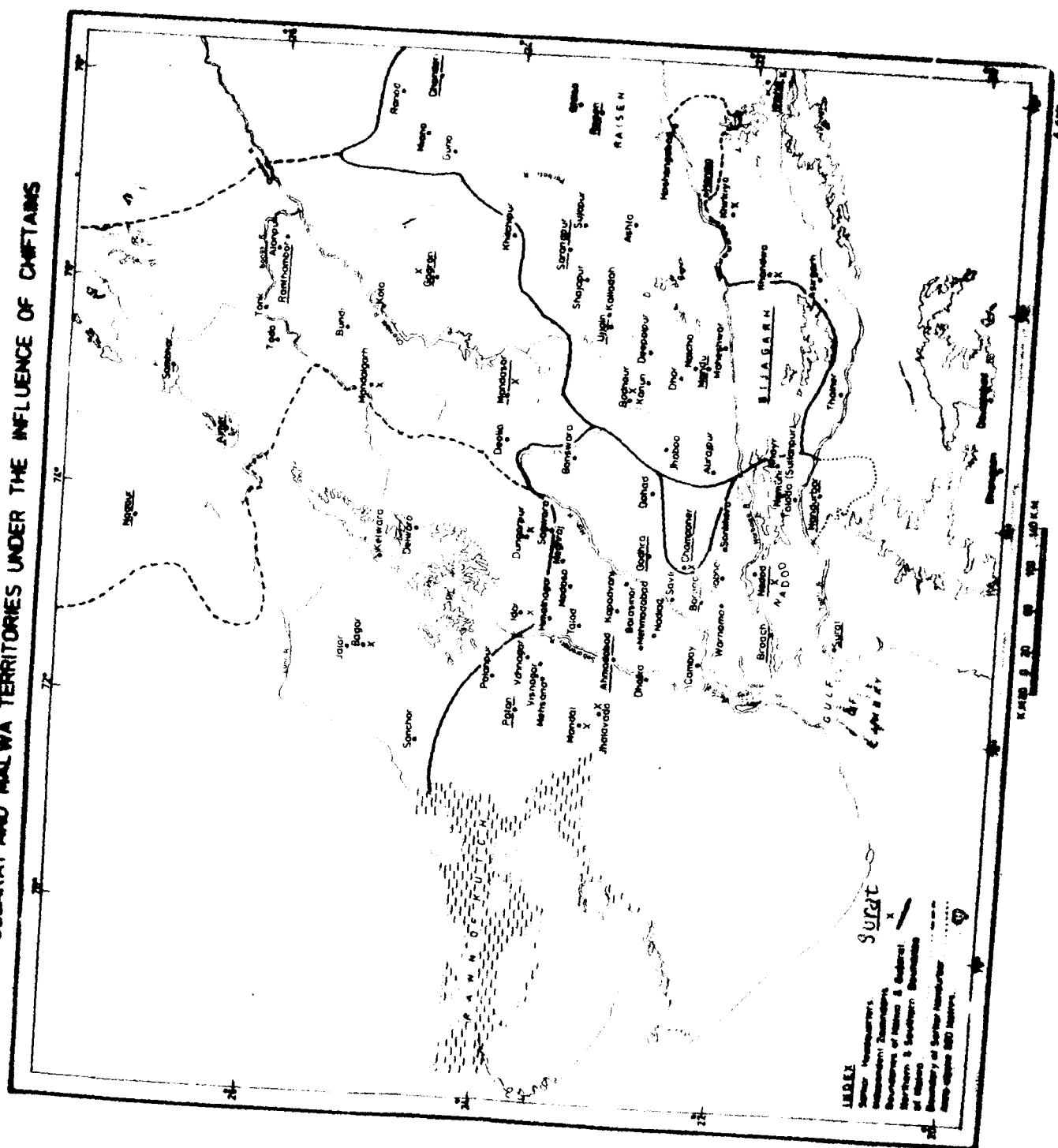
All the other monographs and periodical literature consulted here in course of the preparation of this dissertation are listed in the bibliography.

THE BOUNDARIES OF GUJARAT AND MALWA (1514-1526)



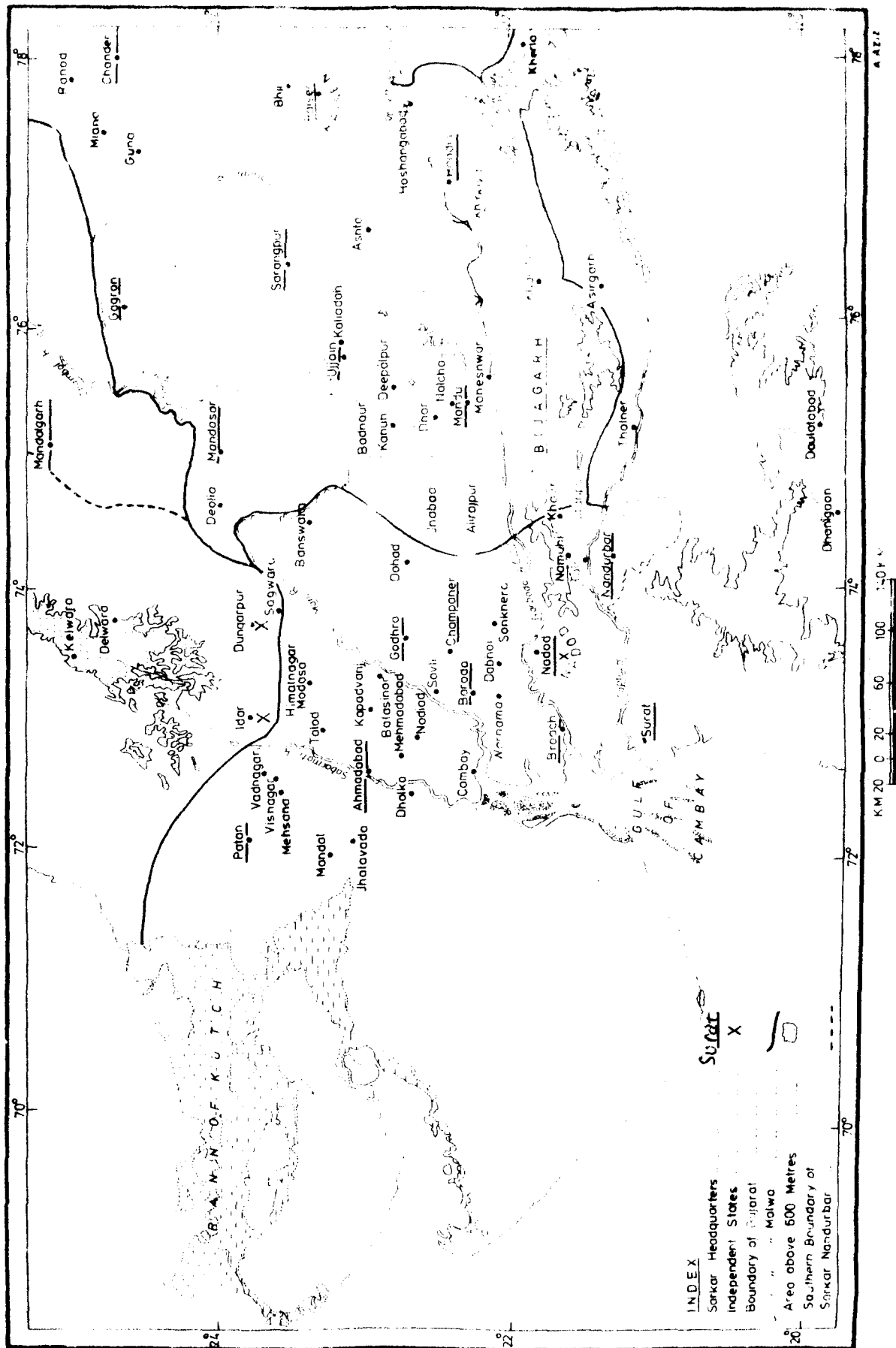
**AND**

GUJARAT AND MALWA TERRITORIES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CHAFTAINS





# THE BOUNDARIES OF GUJARAT AND MALWA (1484-1513) MALWA AND GUJARAT TERRITORIES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CHIEFTAINS



## CHAPTER - I

The Common Boundary of the Kingdoms of  
Gujarat and Malwa : 1407-1526.

For identifying the territories or regions over which there was going on a tussle between the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa and also for pin-pointing the geo-political factors that gave rise to claims or ambitions on the part of these two powers over specific territories, it is important to attempt to draw on a map, their changing boundaries facing each other's territories at different points of time. With the help of this kind of map it would be possible to explain the pattern of territorial expansion of the two states in different direction in the perspective of geographical factors dominating their mutual relationship.

For this study, our information is mainly based on inscriptions surviving in Mālwa and Gujarāt from 15th and 16th century, and on the accounts of the expeditions undertaken by the rulers of Mālwa and Gujarāt into each other's territories given in the Persian chronicles. Partly, it also refers to scattered information in the sources specifying the position of various places in the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa during the period of our study. Such evidence furnished by Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi of Shihab Hakim (which

covers developments of the period, 1407-69 A.D.) and Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi of Sharfuddin Bukhari, (compiled after 1511 A.D.) is contemporaneous. However the bulk of our source material comes from the later histories such as, Tarikh-i Alfi (1591-92 A.D.); Tabaqat-i Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmed (1593-94 A.D.); Zafar-ul-walid Bi Muzaffar wa Alihi of Hajim-Dabir (1605-6 A.D.); Tarikh-i Firishta of Firishta (1606-7 A.D.); Mirat-i Sikandari of Sikandar Manjhu bin (1611-12 A.D.), Ma'asir-i Rahimi of Nahavandi (1616-17 A.D.); Mirat-i Ahmadi of Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur (1762-63 A.D.) and several other works. The evidence derived from Ain-i Akbari <sup>(Vol. II)</sup> in this regard is a category by itself and therefore deserves special mention. In Abul Fazl's introductory remarks to his description of the subas of Gujarāt and Mālwa, he has reproduced some of the information relating to the territorial annexations by these two kingdoms from each other which is, in any case, not much different from the similar information furnished by other later sources. But then the lists of the parganas included within the sarkars of these subas have come handy to us in drawing the boundaries of Gujarat and Malwa for our period with a greater degree of proximity to their actual position. How this information is used in this study can be illustrated by noticing the case of sarkar champanir of suba Gujarat. While plotting the boundary of the kingdom of Gujarat in the region where champanir is located,

we have taken care to ensure that all the parganas of the later day sarkar Champanir, except the parganas of Dohad, Sāvli and Jhabua, are shown outside the kingdom of Gujarat till the zamindari of Champanir was an independent entity, but the territory covered by these parganas is shown within Gujarat for the post 1483 period, when the zamindari of Champanir had already been annexed by Mahmūd Begadā. We have adopted this methodology on the plausible assumption that the sarkar Champanir of the Mughal period with the exception of parganas Jhabua, Dohad and Savli comprised the territory of erstwhile independent zamindari of Champanir abolished by Sultan Mahmud Begadā in 1484 1483-A.D; Dohad and Savli are known to be controlled by the Gujaratis and Jhabua by Malwa during this period. (1)

We have prepared a comprehensive index of place names mentioned in different inscriptions of that period and in the context of different military episodes reported in our sources and also these mentioned as sarkars and parganas in Ain-i Akbari

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- (1) There are two possibilities in this regard; that the parganas of Dohad, Savli and Jhabua were originally a part of the zamindari of Champanir, and Dohad, Savli and Jhabua were annexed to the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa sometime before the annexation of Champanir to Gujarat in 1483 A.D. It was apparently, on account of this traditional affinity these parganas were included in sarkar Champanir during Akbar's time. On the other hand, it is also possible that the above parganas were never a part of Champanir and were added to sarkar Champanir.

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and have tried to establish their exact location with the help of the National Atlas of India,<sup>(1)</sup> Bartholomew World Travel map,<sup>(2)</sup> and the District Gazetteers. These places are then plotted on a map of the region covered by Malwa and Gujarat kingdoms showing rivers and contours representing hills rising above 600 metres from the surface of the Sea. After having plotted these places on such a map, we have tried to draw the boundary lines of the two kingdoms as these existed at different points of time by assuming that from one point of political control of a power to another, its line of effective control would run along the prominent physical features of the region like extension of hills. Or it would run parallel to the sarkar boundaries of Akbar's time as indicated in Ain-i Akbari<sup>(3)</sup> and worked out on a map by Irfan Habib. In these maps all those

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- (1) We have used only its reference map of Western India. National Atlas is issued by the ministry of Education, Government of India, and it is prepared under the direction of Professor S.P. Chatterjee, (Director, National Atlas Organization).
- (2) We have used only its map of Indian Sub-Continent. The Bartholomew World Travel map is issued by John Bartholomew & Sons Ltd, Duncanson Street, Edinburgh, EH9, ITA Scotland.
- (3) It seems to be fair supposition that there were only minor variations in sarkar boundaries under the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa and those of the Mughal period. For the sarkar boundaries under Akbar, based on Ain-i Akbari, see, Irfan Habib, Atlas of Mughal India, OUP 1982. Sheet Nos. VI (a), VII (a), IX(a).

places that were controlled by independent or semi-independent chiefs are identified by putting a sign of cross against their names. In cases such places correspond to the sarkar headquarters of Ain-i Akbari, we have assumed that the territories covered by those sarkars originally attached to the zamindaris located in the same place.

These maps are prepared for three phases in the history of the relations between Malwa and Gujarat : (a) showing there boundaries during 1407 A.D. to 1483 A.D., (b) during 1484 A.D. to 1513 A.D., (c) and during 1514 A.D. to 1526 A.D.

It seems that the traditional boundary of the kingdom of Gujarat starting from the coast of the Gulf of Cambay at some point to the south of Surat moved northward to encircle the territory attaching to sarkar Nandurbar located on the left side of Tapti which has throughout remained a part of the kingdom of Gujarat. In the appended map we have not shown the Gujarati boundary extending from the sea-coast upto the confines of Nandurbar alignment is yet to be worked out. But I have shown with dots the boundary of the sarkar Nandurbar upto the point it crosses Tapti. It should enable us to have a vague idea of the point at which the Gujarati boundary towards the east meets that of the kingdom of Malwa. As worked out by Irfan Habib the boundary of sarkar Nandurbar, which is being treated here as the eastern boundary of Gujarat

towards Malwa during this time, crossed river Tapti at a point about 38 Km to the north-east of pargana Nandurbar<sup>(1)</sup> and South-east of pargana Sultanpur<sup>(2)</sup> of the same sarkar and extend north-wards along the boundary of parganas Sultanpur, Khayar,<sup>(3)</sup> Namuhi,<sup>(4)</sup> meeting the boundary of Malwa above the river Tapti where the boundaries of the sarkar Nandurbar, Naded<sup>(5)</sup> (an independent Rajput zamindari of that time); Bijagarh and Mandu of Ain-i Akbari meet each other.

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- (1) Nandurbar is situated on 21° 22' N, 74° 15' E. For sarkar Nandurbar, see, Ain-i Akbari, pp.101, and it is also mentioned in ~~the~~ Shihab Hakim: p.70, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.140; Firishta: pp.185,384; Sikander Manjhu; pp.47,84-85. But in Ain-i Akbari this sarkar is mentioned in suba Malwa, while according to other accounts of 15th and early 16th centuries this was a place in Gujarat.
- (2) Sultanpur is on 21° 43' N, 74° 14' E. For pargana Sultanpur, of sarkar Nandurbar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.101 and this place is also mentioned in an inscription of 861 A.H Rabi I, 2nd/7th August 1457 A.D. on a Minar there during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin cf. Bendrey p.111. This place is also mentioned in the accounts of 15th-16th century of Gujarat. See, Shihab Hakim: p.70; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.463; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.4,16-17; Sikander Manjhu: pp.51,57.
- (3) Khayar: is situated on 21° 45' N, 74° 15' E. For this pargana of sarkar Nandurbar, of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.101; National Atlas of Western India; Atlas of Mughal Empire, Sheet No.IX(a).
- (4) Namuhi: is on 22° 26' N, 77° 55' E. For this, see, Ibid.
- (5) Naded: is on 21° 58' N, 73° 28' E, about 51 Km east-by-north from Surat. For the independent zamindari of Naded, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.451-52; Firishta: p.185; Sikander bin Manjhu: p.46 and according to Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.105, its raja became the tributary chief of Gujarat in 821 A.H./1417-18 AD Naded is also mentioned in Ain-i Akbari: pp.121-22 as a sarkar of Akbar's time.

On the northern side of Narbada till 1483 A.D.  
 the boundary of Gujarat used to take a turn in the north-  
 westerly direction to circumvent the autonomous Rajput  
 principality of Champanir that separated Gujarat from Mālwa  
 in this region. The curve of the Gujarati boundary circum-  
 venting the Champanir zamindari roughly corresponds to the  
 boundary of the sarkar Champanir of Ain-i Akbari with the  
 only modification that in our map the parganas Dohad and Savli  
 are shown in Gujarat and Jhabua in Malwa. After this detour  
 the Gujarati boundary meets Mālwa line of control at a point  
 about 21 Kms to east of Dohad (it was a sloping area with  
 sandy rocks). From this point the common boundary of the two

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- (1) Champanir town is on 22°.24'N, 73°.32'E and is 25 Km. north-east of Baroda. For the zamindari of Champanir, see, Shihab Hakim: pp.68-69,75,121; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.148, 452-53, 462, Firishta: pp.184-86, 190; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 46-47,51-52,56,125.
- (2) Dohad: is on 22°.50'N, 74°.16'E. For this pargana of sarkar Champanir of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.122. But it is mentioned as a place of Gujarat in the accounts of 15th-16th centuries of Gujarat, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad:pp. 160,174,179-80,462,484; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.2,26; Firishta: pp.397,407-8; Sikander Manjhu: pp.47,143,146; Nahavandi,pp. 178-79.
- (3) Savli:is on 22°.34'N, 73°.12'E. For this pargana of sarkar Champanir of Akbar's time see Ain-i Akbari: p.122. It was also in Gujarat before the annexation of Champanir into Gujarat, see Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.462, Haji-ud-Dabir:p.2; Sikander Manjhu: p.47.
- (4) Jhabua: is on 22°.28'N, 23°.14'E. For the evidence that Jhabua was under the possession of Mālwa ruler before the annexation of Champanir into Gujarat, see, Nahavandi,p.137.
- (5) For the sloping sandy rocks of Dohad, see, Jahangir:pp.204-8.



states appears to have stretched in a north-easterly direction along the hill features upto river Mahi. This alignment of the boundary naturally runs along the eastern confines of pargana Balasinoor in sarkar Ahmadabad, and that of Banswara (which during Akbar's reign was included in the sarkar Dungarpur). From this point the alignment of the boundary touched the course of Mahi, it excluded along the right bank of river in a north-westerly direction. At a point about 44 Kms to the east of Dungarpur the Gujarati boundary deviated from the river course moving towards the west demarcating the autonomous zamindari of Dungarpur, and Idar from -- -----

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- (1) Balasinoor is situated on 21°.25'N, 76°.15'E, for this pargana of sarkar Ahmadabad, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.121. This pargana is also referred in the accounts of 15th and 16th centuries, see, Shihab Hakim:p.69; Sikander Manjhu: p.77. Also see, SC Misra: p.182.
- (2) Banswara is not specifically mentioned in the accounts of this period, but the alignment that we have drawn along the physical features appear to demarcate its territory from Dungarpur which at this time was an autonomous zamindari.
- (3) Dungarpur is on 23°.50'N, 73°.48'E. This was independent zamindari in 15th and early 16th centuries. For this zamindari, see Shihab Hakim:p.121; Nahavandi: p.145. But according to Ain-i Akbari:p.133, it was a pargana of sarkar Sirohi of Akbar's time.
- (4) Idar is on 23°.50'N, 73°.4'E. and is 102.2 Kms north-east of Ahmadabad. According to Shihab Hakim:p.70; Nizamuddin Ahmad, pp.452-53; Firishta:p.185; Sikander Manjhu:p.46; Nahavandi, p.136, it was a local zamindari in 15th and early 16th centuries, but according to Ain-i Akbari:p.120 it was a pargana of sarkar Ahmadabad of Akbar's time. For independent zamindari of Idar also see, Ras Mala:pp.302-3; Commissariat: pp.53n, 54, 83-85, 86-87, 129; SC Misra:pp.144-46, 152, 164, 170-72 177, 199, 200; UN Day:pp.19, 37.

the Gujarati territory. Before this line crosses Sābarmati at a point 25 Kms to the west of Idar it touches upon the northern confines of the Gujarati parganas Meghraj, Himmatnagar, Visnagar and Wadnagar. On the left side of Sabarmati the boundary apparently extends along the confines of the sarkar Patan upto Ramn of Kutch.

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- (1) Meghraj: is on 23°.35'N, 73°.32'E. This was a pargana of sarkar Ahmadabad, see, Ain-i Akbari, p.121; Atlas of Mughal India, Sheet VII(a).
- (2) Himmatnagar: is on 23°.38'N, 72°.58'E. for this pargana, see, Ain-i Akbari, p.121. It is also mentioned in the accounts of 15th and early 16th centuries of Nizamuddin Ahmad; p.113; Sikander Manjhu; p.113. This place is also mentioned in an inscription of 928 A.H./1522 A.D. on a step-well called Qazi's Vavdi constructed by Shams, son of Mubarak Sultani in the period of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II. Cf. Epigraphica India 1963, pp.44-45.
- (3) Visnagar: is on 72°.33'N, 23°.42'E. According to Ain-i Akbari; p.121, this was a pargana of sarkar Patan in Akbar's period. While it was also under the possession of the rulers of Gujarat in 15th and early 16th centuries, see, Sikander Manjhu; p.198.
- (4) Wadnagar: is on 24°.48'N, 72°.46'E. For this pargana of sarkar Patan of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari, p.121. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad; p.186; Sikander Manjhu; p.198, it was also in Gujarat in 15th and early 16th centuries.
- (5) Patan: is on 23°.50'N, 72°.5'E. For this sarkar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari, p. 121. This place is also mentioned in the inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries, which are found on different buildings of Patan of that time. We find two inscriptions of 812 A.H./1409-10 A.D. and 813 A.H./1410-11 A.D. of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I's period. The first one is engraved on two slabs, which are respectively built into the outer and inner face of the wall over the window of the hujra situated inside the tomb-enclosure of Makhdum Husamuddin (a 14th cen. Chishti Saint, d.1336 A.D.). This also states that Khan-i A'zam Asad Khan constructed it in 1409-10 AD during the reign of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah. It furnishes the earliest versified record of the Gujarati Sultan. The other inscription

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For the period 810 A.H./1407-8 A.D. to 887 A.H./1483-84 A.D., the boundary of Malwa towards Gujarat from the confines of Nandurber upto the confines of <sup>(1)</sup> pargana Deolia (at that time was called Deola) in the north ran along the Gujarati boundary with exception stretch <sup>h</sup> were the two alignment were separated from each other by the territory of the independent zamindari of Champanir. The eastern boundary of the later day sarkar Champanir is treated in our map as the boundary of the zamindari of Champanir of this period towards Malwa.

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(5) P.n. of previous page continued:-

is to be seen over the central mihrab of the mosque called Bangrezon-ki-Masjid at Patan. Also dated in the reign of Muzaffar Shah I, it records the construction of a mosque in 1410-11 A.D. Two inscriptions are belonged to Sultan Ahmad Shah's reign. One inscription of 820 A.H./1416-17 A.D., is found on the central mihrab of the mosque in the phuti-Mahalla or Pinjarkot at Patan. It states that this mosque was constructed in 1416-17 A.D. during the reign of Nasiruddin Abu'l Fath Ahmad Shah I. The second one is fixed on the water-trough for cattle near a well outside the Phatipal gate at Patan. The well was constructed on the last day of 821 A.H./1418-19 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah I. One inscription of Sultan Muhammad Shah II's reign is engraved into the southern wall of courtyard of the mosque in Khatkiwade at Patan. Cf. Epigraphia Indica: 1963, pp. 11-13, 15, 23. One inscription of 821 A.H./1418-19 A.D. of Sultan Ahmad Shah's reign is also referred in commissariat, vol. I, pp. 122-23. This epigraph is fixed in a well at the old capital of Patan Aghilvad. Abdullah Sultani, the Kotwal of the city Nahrwala, laid the foundation of this well on the second Friday of Zil-Hijjah 821 A.H./Jan. 6, 1419 A.D. This place is also mentioned in different accounts of that period. See, Shihab Hakim: p. 19, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 449-50, Sikander Manjhu: pp. 40-41.

- (1) Deolia: is situated on 24°.2'N, 74°.40'E. For the information that Deolia was in the possession of the ruler of Malwa before 1514 A.D., see, Firishta: p. 207; Sikander Manjhu: p. 185.

The boundary of the Malwa kingdom towards the south facing Khandesh and Ahmadnagar is not very certain for this period. But it would be of interest to workout this boundary as well because only after we know the alignment of this boundary that one can be sure as to where the boundaries of Malwa and Gujarat met in the region between Tapti and Nerbada. We have assumed that the entire territory of sarkar Bijagarh which is shown in the Ain-i Akbari as a part of the suba (1) Malwa, was a part of the Malwa kingdom at this time also. But it may be noted that Bijagarh is not specifically mentioned in any one of the accounts for this period. Neither is there any suggestion that the territory covered by this sarkar was a part of either of Gujarat or Khandesh. On the right side of the river Tapti Asirgarh, and Thalner are the only two (2) important places that are mentioned as belonging to Khandesh. On the strength of this evidence we have conjectured that till 1483-84 A.D. the Malwa boundary to the south of Nerbada ran

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- (1) For the information that Bijagarh was a part of suba Malwa in Akbar's period, see, Akbar Nama; Vol.II, p.166; Ain-i Akbari; pp.99-100.
- (2) Asir: situated on 21°.25'N, 76°.15'E, and Thalner: situated on 21°.20'N, 75°.21'E, were belonged to suba Khandesh in Akbar's time. Cf. Ain-i Akbari; pp.107-8; and according to Firishta; pp.276-83, these were also in Khandesh kingdom in 15th and early 16th centuries.

along the confines of sarkar Bijagarh meeting the Gujarati  
boundary near pargana Sultanpur (modern Taloda).<sup>(1)</sup>

In the north, the boundary of the Malwa kingdom was shifting from one alignment to another at different points of times. It seems till 826 A.H./1422-23 A.D., this boundary from near Deolia taking a turn to the north-east, separated<sup>(2)</sup> the territories of sarkar Mandisor<sup>(3)</sup> and that of sarkar Gagraun<sup>(4)</sup> that were then controlled by autonomous chieftains, from those of sarkars of Sarangpur (except pargana Khilchipur)

- (1) In the south of Nerbada river, Bijagarh was already under the control of Malwa, so from 825 A.H./1422-23 A.D. to 869 A.H./1464-65 A.D., Sultan Mahmud Khalji I paid his attention towards the conquests of the independent zamin-daris, which were in the south of Nerbada. For the information related to the conquests of these independent zamin-daris, see, Chapter III, pp. 10
- (2) Mandisor: is on 24°.4'N, 75°.5'E. For this sarkar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.101. We find discription of Mandisor in the accounts of 15th and 16th centuries Malwa for the first time in 845 A.H./1439-40 A.D. But it is possible that it would included in Malwa some time before 826 A.H./1422-23 A.D. see, Shihab Hakim: p.53. Also see, U.N. Day: p.175.
- (3) Gagraun: is on 24°.40'N, 76°.10'E. This was a sarkar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.102. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.396; Firishta: p.238, the ruler of Malwa conquered and annexed this zamindari into Malwa in 826 AH/1422-23 AD. But Shihab Hakim: p.54 refers that Gagraun included in Malwa in 846 A.H./1440-41 A.D. Also see, U.N. Day: pp.49-50.
- (4) Sarangpur: is on 23°.34'N, 76°.26'E. For sarkar Sarangpur of Akbar's period, see, Ain-i Akbari: pp.98-99. This place

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and Chanderi of Malwa. In this alignment the line separating pargana Khilchipur from the rest of the sarkar Sarangpur is not very certain. After 850 A.H./1446-47 A.D. the possession

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is also mentioned in two inscriptions of 15th-16th centuries. One on the building called Jain Khan Bhatti (in ruins). Second on a gate, called Ghadiali gate, in town. Cf.: Madhya Bharat: p.122; Shihab Hakim:pp.34-35; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.455-56; Haji-ud-Dabir:pp.16-17; Firishta:pp. 186-87,190, 245-46; Sikander Manjhu:pp.52-53. Also see, U.N.Day:pp.41-43,65,103-5,107,140-42,173.

- (1) Chanderi: is on 24°.43'N, 78°.9'E and is 1300 ft. above Sea-level. For this sarkar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: pp.97-98. We also found some inscriptions in different buildings of Chanderi(15th century A.D.). One inscription is built up in the west wall of the Tomb of Shah Kamal. Adjacent to it is a mosque, which has on its central mihrab an inscription in Arabic of the reign of Qadr Khan (818 A.H./1415-16 A.D.). This mentions Qadr Khan an independent ruler of Chanderi(according to Tarikh-i Muhammadi of Bihamid Khan, 1438-39 A.D. f.469-b and Adat-ul-Faulada of Qadi Khan Badr Dharwal, Qadr Khan ruled Chanderi after the death of a Dilawar Khan till 818 A.H./1415-16 A.D.). The other inscription of 828 A.H./1424-25 A.D. of Hoshang's reign is engraved on the lintel of a door in a tomb situated in the east corner of the family graveyard of Nizamuddin. Another inscription of 1459-60 A.D. is fixed into the western side of the step-well locally called Chandiya-Baoli. The other inscription is set up above the central mihrab of moti-Masjid of Chanderi. Another inscription is to be seen on the tomb of Mahma Shah situated on a hill about 3 Km N.W. of Chanderi: It record the construction of a step-well and a lofty dome in 1462-63 A.D. during the reign of Mahmud Khalji I. cf. Epigraphia Indica 1964 A.D.,pp.51-53, 57-60. We find an inscription of 814 A.H./1411-12 A.D. of Dilawar Khan's reign on the Delhi Darwaza, Chanderi, Fort. Another inscription of 833 A.H./1429-30 A.D. was also found in Chanderi. See, Epigraphia Indica: 1925-26, p.17,22. cf: Bendrey:pp.107, 109. We find Budhi Chanderi Sati stone with an inscription dated V.S.1525/1464 A.D. We find an inscription of V.S.

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of Malwa ruler in north extended uptill the territory of Mewar and the ruler of Malwa conquered Ranthambor and Alanpur (1) in that year. In 861 A.H./1456-57 A.D., he also conquered Nagor, Ajmer, Toda, Sambhar, Harauti etc. (2) Mandalgarh also came under the control of the ruler of Malwa in the same (3) year and in 862 A.H./1457-58 A.D. Bundi and Khilchipur also (4) conquered. There is some evidences indicating that Ranthambor

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1484/1427 A.D. on Gola Baqpi we find some inscriptions of 15th-16th centuries on different tanks i.e. Gilava Sagar, Panwadi, Baodi Tal, Ram Nagar Tal, Sultani Jal Lohar Tal, Talaiya, Singhpore Tal and Hauz-i khas in 872 A.H./1469 A.D. we find inscriptions of 15th-16th centuries on a Jam-i-Masjid ~~cf: Madhya Bharat~~ and of 843 A.H./1439-40 A.D. on a Mahal called Koshak Mahal ~~cf: Madhya Bharat~~; pp.25,27-29, 30-33. We also find description of Chanderi in the accounts of 15th-16th centuries of Malwa. See, Shihab Hakim: pp.32,34, 36-37,71, Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.9-10; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 58-59,143; Firishta: p.207; Nizamuddin Ahmad:pp177. Also see, U.N.Day: pp.2,54,63,65,97-99,100,103-4,106-09,110, 112, 128, 141, 143.

- (1) For the conquest of Ranthambor and Alanpur by the ruler of Malwa in 1446-47 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim:p.46 and Nizamuddin Ahmad:pp.352, 363, 373 also refers that Ranthambor and Alanpur were under the control of Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa. Also see, U.N.Day:pp.121,179.
- (2) For the conquest of Nagor, Ajmer, Toda, Sambhar, Harauti etc., by the ruler of Malwa, see, Shihab Hakim:pp.85-89.
- (3) For the conquest of Mandalgarh by Mahmud Khalji I in 1456-57 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim:pp.85-89; Firishta: p.251. Also see, U.N.Day: p.189.
- (4) For the conquest of Bundi and Khilchipur by the ruler of Malwa, see, Shihab Hakim:pp.88-89. Also see, U.N.Day:p.189.

continued to be a part of the Malwa kingdom down to the time when it was annexed from them by Rana Sanga some time between 1500 and 1526 A.D. This impression is supported firstly by Babur's statement that Rana Sanga had conquered Ranthambor and other places from Malwa.<sup>(1)</sup> It is further strengthened by Nizamuddin Ahmad's references to Bahlul Lodi's attack on pargana Alanpur of Ranthambor during Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji's reign (873 A.H./1469-70 A.D. to 906 A.H./1501-2 A.D.) and to the suppression of a rebellion at Ranthambor by Nasiruddin Khalji and also in 913 A.H./1505-6 A.D. he recalled his youngest son 'Azam Humayun from the fort of Ranthambor.<sup>(2)</sup> It seems likely that like Ranthambor other places in south eastern Rajputana conquered by Malwa during Sultan Mahmud Khalji's reign remained in the hands of the Malwa rulers down to the first decade of the 16th century, when they were expelled from that region by Rana Sanga and his allies.

For the period 1460-1505, the boundary of Malwa kingdom in the north should therefore be drawn in such a fashion that

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- (1) For the conquest of Ranthambor etc. of Malwa by Rana Sanga of Chitor before 1526 A.D., see, Babur Nama: pp.189-90.
- (2) For all above incidents, that show the sarkar Ranthambor under the rule of Malwa, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.352, 363, 373. Also see, U.N.Day: p.233.



it should show Nagor, Ajmer, Sambhar, Ranthambor as its constituents. I have shown this boundary on the map in a broken line, which actually runs along the boundaries of these sarkars. The only variation in this regard is that sarkar boundary is at this point where I have included Mandलगarh, a parqana in sarkar Chittor with Malwa and on this point of course the river Banas is taken as the alignment of the boundary.

After 1483-84 A.D., there came a change in the boundary line of Gujarat towards Malwa. This change occurred because of the annexation of Champanir to the kingdom of Gujarat. Till this time Champanir formed a buffer-zone between Malwa and Gujarat. It could remain independent

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- (1) For the conquest and annexation of Champanir by Sultan Mahmud Shah Begūda in 1483-84 A.D., see, Barbosa: p.117; Varthema: p.58, introduction; Muhammad Sharfuddin: p.15; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.478; Haji-ud Dabir: p.28; Firishat: p.202; Sikander Manjhus: p.137; Nahavandi: pp.58, 154; we also find some inscriptions on several buildings of Champanir which show that after 1483-84 A.D., it was under the possession of the rulers of Gujarat. We find two inscriptions of 889 A.H. 2nd Zi'l-Qa'd/Tuesday, 23rd November 1484 A.D., one on the Halol gateway, Champanir Fort and other on Dohad gateway, Champanir Fort. For these inscriptions, see, Epigraphica Indica: pp.4-5, 1929-30. Cf. Bendrey: p.113. We also find two other inscriptions of 914 A.H./Tuesday 2nd May 1508 to Fri 20th April 1509 A.D. and 924 A.H./Wednesday 13th January 1518 to Sunday 2nd January 1519 A.D. Both in the Jaini Masjid Champanir. For these inscriptions, see, Epigraphica Indica: pp.36, 1944-34 A.D., p.15, 1937-38 A.D. Cf. Bendrey: pp.117-18; we also have some inscriptions of 889 A.H./1484-85 A.D. and 930 A.H./1524-25 A.D. Two

contd...

down to 1484 on account of the material assistance that

(1)  
received from Malwa. After the annexation of Champanir into Gujarat in 1483-84 A.D., border demarcating the territories of the two states stretched from Narbada to northwards along the Panagarh hill features up to the confines of pargana

(2)  
Jhabua, which was at that time possibly in the possession of

(3)  
Malwa. By this change an area measuring roughly 815 sq. Km.

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inscriptions in Arabic are carved at the top of the imposing Godhara and Halol gates of the citadel of Champanir in 1484-85 A.D. They commemorate the date of the conquest of Champanir by Mahmud I which agrees exactly with that given for the fall of the fortress on the hill by the Persian and Arabic historians. The inscription of 1524-25 A.D. is on a mosque of the town of Halol in Champanir in the reign of Muzaffar Shah II. Cf. commissariat; pp.200-201, 289-90. Also see, Ras Mala: p.372; Commissariat: p.195; Watson:p.44; W.Haig: p.310.

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For the independent zamindari of Champanir which was a buffer-zone between Gujarat and Malwa, see, Supra: p.7.

- (1) Champanir received material help of Malwa against Gujarat in 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D., 821 A.H./1418-19 A.D., 854 A.H./1450-51 A.D., 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., 870 A.H./1465-66 A.D., 875 A.H./1471-72 A.D., etc. For this see, Chapter III, pp. 6-7
- (2) Jhabua: This pargana of sarker Champanir is stretched from 22°.28 and 23°.14'N, 74°.20' and 75°.19'E. with an area of, 1,336 sq miles and was 1,171 ft above sea-level. The pargana is near Dhar on left bank of river Mahi.
- (3) According to Nahavandi:p.137, Jhabua(at that time was Jambu) was in the possession of the Malwa ruler in 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D. As we have no information suggesting that Jhabua changed hands subsequently we may assume that it was still under Malwa down to 1483-84 A.D.:

(1)  
 was added to the kingdom of Gujarat. Savli, Baroda, and  
 (2)  
 Dabhoi, which till 1484 A.D. were the frontier outposts of  
 the Gujarati kingdom along the boundary of Champanir princi-  
 pality, lost their strategic importance and instead of them  
 Champanir itself became the main frontier outpost towards  
 Malwa. The conquest of Champanir gave the Gujaratis strategic  
 advantage over Malwa in so far as this region was at the  
 (3)  
 higher altitude as the Gujarati plain was, and therefore it

- (1) Baroda: is situated on 22°18'N, 73°15'E. This was a sarkar of Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.122. This was also an important place of Gujarat in 15th and early 16th centuries. We find two inscriptions of 816 A.H./1412-14 A.D. and 847 A.H./1444-45 A.D. One into the north wall of the tomb of Pir Ghoda. The other inscription is on a pillar from Sathod in Baroda district. It is some sort of royal order of Sultan Muhammad Shah issued on the 15th Muharram 847 A.H./15th May 1443 A.D. The description of Baroda is an important strategic place of Gujarat is also in the accounts of 15th and early 16th centuries of Gujarat, see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 70-71; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.148; Haji-ud-Dabir, p.5, Firishta: p.249; Sikander Manjhus pp.51,125. Also see, Watson: p.37; W.Haig:p.301; S.C.Misra: p. 170-1.
- (2) Dabhoi: is situated on 22°8'N, 73°28'E and is roughly 29 Km distant from Ahmedabad. It is a pargana of sarkar Baroda in Akbar's time, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.122. It is also mentioned in Gujarat in Nizamuddin Ahmad:p.148.
- (3) For the higher altitude of Champanir, see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 68-69; Sharfuddin Bukhari: p.14. Also see, National Atlas of Western India, Atlas of Mughal India: Sheet No. VII(a).

(1)  
 was easier to launch an invasion of Malwa from this base.  
Pargana Dohad located to the north of the territory of  
 Champanir as before remained in Gujarat and therefore the  
 common boundary of Gujarat and Malwa from near Dohad  
 northwards remained the same as before 1483-4 A.D.

The third and final change during the period of  
 our study [1407-8 A.D. to 1525-26 A.D.], in common border  
 of Gujarat and Malwa, came in the year 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D.,  
 when Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat annexed Deolia into  
 (2)  
 Gujarat, which till this time was an important outpost of  
 Malwa in the north-west. As a result of this annexation,  
 the north-eastern boundary of Gujarat underwent a thorough  
 change. Now from the confines of pargana Dohad the common  
 boundary of Gujarat and Malwa moving along river Mahi for  
 about 90 Km in the north-westerly direction and sharply  
 turned towards the north-east and extended along the plateau

483-84

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- (1) After the conquest of Champanir by Gujarati ruler  
 in ~~1484-85~~ A.D., he launched his invasion of Malwa in  
 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D. via this route.
- (2) According to all the accounts of 15th and early 16th  
 centuries of Gujarat and Malwa, Deolia was annexed to  
 Gujarat possibly in 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D., while  
 Firishta: p.107 informs us that when Muzaffar Shah II  
 decided to invade Malwa in 917 A.H./1511-12 A.D., he  
 ordered Qaiser Khan to occupy Deolia and he appointed  
 Safdar Khan thanedar of this pargana. Also see, U.N.Day:  
 p.291.

upto Mandsoor and from there it proceeded to circumvent the territory of the erstwhile principality of Deolia along w the plateau wall and touched the course of the river Mahi again at a point approximately 96 Km west of Dungarpur. The annexation of Deolia resulted in the loss of about 785 sq.km. of Malwa territory which now came to be included in Gujarat. The establishment of their control at Deolia gave the Gujaratis strategic advantage over Malwa in so far as this region was at the same altitude as the Malwa territory was, and therefore it was easier to launch an invasion of Malwa from this base. This borne out by the history of subsequent Gujarati invasions of Malwa. On all these occasions the rulers of Gujarat used Deolia as the base of their military (1) operations against Malwa.

Besides Deolia, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat also conquered and annexed the independent Rajput zamindari of Idar

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- (1) A careful study of the accounts of 15th and early 16th centuries of Gujarat and Malwa shows that before the annexation of Deolia into Gujarat, all rulers of Gujarat started their moves towards Malwa from Dohad as they had, did in 820 A.H./1416-17 A.D., 852 A.H./1448-49 A.D., 887-88 A.H./1483-84 A.D., 917 A.H./1511-12 A.D., etc. But after the conquest of Deolia, later on, the rulers of Gujarat launched their invasions of Malwa from this base. For example, in 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D., 923 A.H./1517-18 A.D. etc., the ruler of Gujarat invaded Malwa from Deolia.

(1)  
 after 921 A.H./1515-16 A.D. Although this related to a change in the Gujarati boundary towards the north where it faced Dungarpur and the territory of Mewar and it did not have a direct bearing on Gujarat - Malwa relations but it is important to notice this development here as it is indicative of the strengthening of the overall strategic position of Gujarat which eventually gave it an upper hand in its relations with Malwa as well. By this annexation, the boundary of Malwa in the north-west changed once more. Now the northern boundary line of Gujarat from the point where it touched the course of Mahi, extended along the right bank of the river in a north-westerly direction along the Arsavalli hill-features along the confines of the erstwhile zamindari of Idar and then it moved along the confines of the sarkar Patan towards Rann of Kutch.

After 925 A.H./1519-20 A.D., there occurred a noticeable change in the north-eastern boundary of Malwa. Following his

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(1) Nizamuddin Ahmad (p.183) and Sikander Manjhu: p.193 refers to Sultan Muzaffar Shah II appointing in 924 A.H./1518-19 A.D., Gujarat-ul Mulk to Idar. This would suggest that already by 921 A.H./1515-16 A.D. Idar had annexed to Gujarat. Apparently it was annexed in 1515 A.D., when Muzaffar Shah II is reported to have invaded Idar. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.178-79; Sikander Manjhu: p.181. Also see, Commissariat: pp.272-73.

break with the Khalji ruler which end to Gujarati intervention in 924 A.H./1518-19 A.D. Medini Rai occupied Gagraun<sup>(1)</sup> and set up his headquarters there. The territory of Mandor including Harauti and Kichichiwara passed under Rana Sanga's control<sup>(2)</sup> and Chanderi was occupied by Medini Rai. Bhilsa<sup>(3)</sup> and Raisena went under the possession of Silahdi Purabiya.<sup>(4)</sup> Sikander Khan became independent in the territory of Satwas.<sup>(5)</sup> In 925 A.H./1519-20 A.D. Silahdi Purabiya also conquered Sarangpur but in 926 A.H./1520-21 A.D. Sultan Mahmud Khalji II re-conquered it.<sup>(6)</sup>

This boundary line thus runs from close to Deolia eastwards demarcating the territory of Mandor upon Ujjain and

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- (1) For the conquest of Gagraun by Medini Rai, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.587; Sikander Manjhu: p.193.
  - (2) For the conquest of Mandor by the ruler of Mewar, see, Sikander Manjhu: p.201. Also see, UN Day: p.303.
  - (3) For the conquest of Chanderi by Medini Rai, see, Firishta: pp. 267-68. Also see, U.N.Day: p.303.
  - (4) For the conquest occupation of Raisena and Bhilsa by Silahdi Purabiya, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.587-88. Also see, U.N.Day: p.303.
  - (5) For the conquest of Satwas by Sikander Khan, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.587-88. Also see, U.N.Day: p.303.
  - (6) For Sarangpur, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.588. Also see, U.N.Day: p.303.

Gagraun from Sarangpur. Then from near Kilchipur it moves in southern direction along the confines of sarkars chanderi and Raisena which by and large follows the river Parbati.

Above description of the boundaries of Malwa and Gujarat suggests that Malwa was geographically so protected by the sharp plateau wall facing Gujarat that the rulers of Gujarat could not easily think of annexing it. In the north-west and west of Malwa are Vindhayan hills and Vindhayan rocks which made it difficult for any power located in Gujarat to penetrate the heartland of Malwa. The area covered with Vindhayan hills like Mhow and Bijagarh and part of Mandu were 600 ft. above sea-level, while the areas covered by the Vindhayan plateau near Gujarat like Deolia, Jhabua, Dhar, Na'leha, Ujjain, Sarangpur and part of Mandu were only 400 ft. above sea-level. It was this steep rise of the plateau on the Malwa side that tended to ensure Malwa's immunity from the Gujarati sway. The areas of Gujarat like Dabhoi, Godhara, Champanir etc., which were

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(1) For Vindhayan hills and rocks, see, O.H.K.Spate and A.T. A.Learmonth: pp.621,622-25; National Atlas of Western India. Ed. by S.P.Chatterjee. Also see, U.N.Day: p.3.

(2) For the contours of Malwa, see, National Atlas of Western India; Atlas of Mughal India: Sheet No.IX(a).

4 Empire



near Malwa were on higher altitudes and were 300 ft above sea-level. While the areas like Baroda, Dholka, Cambay and Broach were 50 ft. above sea-level and Ahmadabad and Patan were 150 ft. above sea-level, The north-eastern parts of Gujarat, (Dahad and its adjoining areas), from which base the Gujaratis frequently launched their invasions towards Malwa, were also 300 ft above sea-level. <sup>(1)</sup> As the result of this peculiar nature of the Gujarati terrain, Malwa was protected by Gujarati way. Because of the sharp plateau wall of Malwa facing Gujarat and because ~~and~~ ~~because~~ of the peculiar nature of terrain in the north-eastern parts of Gujarat, the rulers of Gujarat could not easily think of annexing it. But when the ruler of Gujarat annexed Deolia in 1513-14 A.D., they came to get a foot hold on a tract which was at the same height as the Malwa territory; which ideally supplied as base of Gujarati military operations in Malwa. It thus became easier for the Gujaratis to invade and control territory on the Malwa side. All the subsequent invasions of Malwa were launched by the Gujaratis from this base and eventually Bahadur Shah was able to annex Malwa in 1531-32 A.D.

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(1) For the contours of Gujarat, see, Ibid; <sup>An</sup> Atlas of Mughal India; Sheet No. VII(a).

It seems, Malwa's control over Deolia was crucial for maintaining its sway over territories in south-eastern Rajputana conquered by Mahmud Khalji I during 1454-61 A.D. which included Mandisor, Gagraun, Ranthambor, Ajmer, Nagor and Mandalgarh. In this connection one cannot miss to note that soon after the loss of Deolia, the Malwa kingdom lost its foothold in South-eastern Rajputana as a result of Mewar's expansion in the region in 1519-20 A.D. In that year Rana Sanga and his ally Medini Rai is reported to have conquered from Malwa Mandisor, Gagraun, Raisen and Chanderi  
(1)  
etc.

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(1) For the conquest of all above places, i.e. Mandisor, Gagraun, Raisen and Chanderi by Rana Sanga and his allies see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.587-88; Fizi Firishta: pp.267-68; Sikander Manjhus: pp.193,201. Also see, U.N.Days: p.303.

## CHAPTER -II

### Nature of the frequent conflicts between Gujarat and Malwa; An Assessment of the contemporary claims and characterizations.

As we have seen the states of Gujarat and Malwa were located adjacent to each other and also had along stretch of common border. (1) The mutual relations of these kingdoms generally remained strained throughout the period of their existence. From time to time, this persisting tension led to out-break of armed conflicts between them which often continued for months some times even years. It is of interest to investigate as to what were the factors that contributed to these frequent clashes between these two states till kingdom of Malwa was finally extinguished as a consequence of Bahadur Shah's decision to annex its territory in 1531-32 A.D. (2) Was this persisting conflict and tension the result of an expansionist drive on the part of any one of the contenders or did it result from particular kind of claims that they had on each other and tried to enforce the observance of these claims by use of military force whenever there was an attempt to flout them?

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(1) For the boundary of Gujarāt and Mālwa, see, chapter I.

(2) For the annexation of Mālwa into Gujarāt in 1531-32 A.D., see, Tarikh-i Alfi: pp.89-90; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.501-2; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.168-69; Firishta: p.277; Sikander Manjhu: p.278. See also, Commissariat: p.326; Rushbrook William: pp. 10-11; W.Haig: p.327, U.N.Day: p.308.

For identifying the factors that created friction between the two states, it would be of interest to analyse the reasons which the contending parties gave on different occasions for starting hostilities against each other. The justifications advanced from time to time by the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa for their moves against each other are recorded in the chronicles and an analysis of these explanations or rationalisations can be very useful for gaining some idea of the mutual claims and obligations that were, apparently, regarded by the respective parties as unvoilable or sacrosanct in their relations.

Intervention by the rulers of Gujarat in the affairs of Malwa on the pretext of punishing a prince or noble or a group of nobles responsible for overthrowing or killing a reigning monarch was a recurring phenomenon. There were several occasions when Sultans of Gujarat tried to justify their invasions of Malwa on such grounds. In Rabi II, Jamd I, 810 A.H./Sept., October 1407 A.D., when Dilawar Khan Gheri was killed through poisoning by his son Hoshang, the Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah I, invaded Malwa for "punishing" Hoshang. Similarly, when

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(1) For the invasion of the ruler of Gujarat on Malwa in 1407 A.D., see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.348; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.448, Firishta: p.182; Sikandar Manjhu: pp.25-26. It is also referred in Watson: p.32 Haig. p.295; Misra: p.156.

in 906 A.H./1500-1501 A.D, Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji of Malwa was killed by his son Nasiruddin Khalji, Sultan Mahmud Shah Begada<sup>(1)</sup> of Gujarat decided to invade Malwa. Then after some time in 923 A.H./1517-18 A.D., Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat gave military help to the Malwa ruler Sultan Mahmud Khalji II on his request for re-establishing his authority at Mandu after suppressing the Rajput chieftain Medini Rai. The latter had succeeded in gaining an upper hand in the affairs of Malwa with the support of a powerful faction of Rajput and Afghan nobles of Mahmud Khalji II.<sup>(2)</sup> But it seems that these interventions by the rulers of Gujarat were with a limited aim of ensuring that either a ruler of Malwa friendly to Gujarat is not allowed to be eliminated or the person coming to the throne after his elimination should<sup>(3)</sup> also be so forced to agree to remain on friendly terms with them. In 1407-8 A.D., as also in 1500-01 A.D., the rulers of Gujarat finally agreed to allow the same persons, who were accused of murdering the reigning kings, to remain on the throne of Malwa

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- (1) For killing the Malwa ruler by his son in 1500-1 A.D. and for the decision of the invasion on Malwa by the ruler of Gujarat see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.479; Haji-ud-Dabir:p.32; Sikander Manjhu: p.117. This evidence is also discussed in Haig: p.311.
  - (2) For the military help of the ruler of Gujarat to the exiled ruler of Malwa Mahmud Khalji II against Medini Rai in 1517-18 A.D., see, Shah Abu Turab Wali: pp.3-4; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 179-83; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp. 94-97; Firishta: pp.408-10, 525-26; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 182-85. Watson: p.46; Haig: p.319; Elphinston: p.676(Appendix) also described this evidence.
  - (3) For a different kind of explanation, see, S.C.Misra:p.57, who maintains that it was due to the old enmity that Muzaffar Shah I invaded Malwa. According to him, he wanted just such an opportunity to seize and annex Malwa and, therefore, was determined to take advantage of the confused situation consequent on Dilawar Khan's death for his own ulterior purposes.

after they had assured the Gujaratis of their good-will towards them. In the case of Hoshang, the ruler of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah I went out of his way to helping him installed at Mandu once he had given sufficient proof of his dependence on the Gujaratis. Although it is true that, to begin with, Muzaffar Shah I thwarted Hoshang's attempt to ascend the throne by taking him prisoner in 810 A.H./1407-8 A.D. It is significant that as soon as it became known that Musa Khan, another member of the Malwa ruling family, had usurped the throne, Muzaffar Shah I, not only released Hoshang Shah in 811 A.H./1408-9 A.D., but also sent him to Mandu with a large army under the commander of Prince Ahmad Khan. With the help of this force, Hoshang Shah re-gained the throne from Musa Khan. At this time, Hoshang appears to have accepted certain obligations towards Sultan Muzaffar Shah I which apparently placed the kingdom of Malwa in an unequal position vis-a-vis Gujarat.

However, it seems, the rulers of Malwa were never reconciled to this kind of unequal relationship that was sought to be imposed upon them by the Gujaratis. Whenever they were strong enough, they resisted the Gujarati demand that the rulers of Malwa should continue to fulfil the obligations agreed to by Hoshang Shah at

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(1) For this help of the ruler of Gujarat to Hoshang, see, Shihab Hakimsp.16; Tarikh-i Alfi: p.375; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.449; Sikander Manjhus pp.16-17. Also see, W.Haig:p.296; S.C.Misra: pp.157-58.

(2) For accepting the obligations towards the ruler of Gujarat by Sultan Hoshang, see, Shihab Hakimsp.15. According to the same author, then the ruler of Malwa could gain equal position, visa vis Gujarat, by the treaty of 1451-52 A.D.

the time of his rise to power with the help of Muzaffar Shah I. They tried to force the Gujarati ruler to re-define their mutual relations in such a fashion that the two powers are placed at par with each other. In this connection the provisions of the agreement arrived at between Mahmud Khalji I and Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat after the war of 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., and the details of the negotiations preceding this agreement recorded by Shihab Hakim are of considerable interest and deserve (1) detailed notice.

In 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., when Sultan Mahmud Khalji I was planning to invade Gujarat and was preparing an expedition under Taj Khan, for that purpose, the Gujarati ruler Qutbuddin sent a team of officials and devines including Sadr-ul Quzat, Qazi Husamuddin and a Hindu noble, Harhar, to negotiate a settlement with the ruler of Malwa. At these negotiations Sultan Mahmud Khalji's side was represented by Bandagi Hazrat Aqzul Quzat Sadr-i Jahan, Sheikh-ul Islam Nizamuddin, Sheikh Mahmud, Qazi Daniyal and Malik lālā Yayyeb. The negotiations took place at Champanir which, at this time, was the seat of an independent zamindari.

The ambassadors of Gujarat started the negotiations with the assumption that there already existed a bond of friendship between the rulers of these two kingdoms and it was based on the

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(1) Historians like Firishta: pp.192,250; Nahavandi:p.137, mention this treaty in 857 A.H./1453-54 A.D. after the war of 1451-52 A.D. between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa; and Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.464; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.11-12; Sikander Manjhu:p.84, said that this treaty concluded in 860-61 A.H./1456-57 A.D. This treaty is also described by Commissariat:p.143; U.N.Day:pp.133-36 in similar fashion as is described, above.

understanding arrived at between Sultan Muzaffar Shah I and Hoshang Shah in 1407-8 A.D., according to which the ruler of Malwa had agreed to perform certain obligations in return for military assistance by the Gujaratis. But the emissaries from Malwa pointed out that, in the changed circumstances, the unequal relationship implied in the 1407-8 A.D., understanding was no longer acceptable to them. It was maintained by them that in 854 A.H./1450-51 A.D., Gujarat could <sup>not</sup> gain a victory over them mainly owing to the ~~bravery~~ ~~and~~ ~~of~~ ~~pride~~ ~~of~~ the princes and officials of Mālwa<sup>(1)</sup>. They argued that already by 839 A.H./1435-36 A.D., Malwa had become strong enough to withstand Gujarati pressure. In that year an invasion of Malwa by Sultan Ahmad Shah I was thrown back as a result of stiff resistance offered by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I. Similarly, in 854 A.H./1450-51 A.D., Sultan Muhammad Shah had to retire from Champanir without conquering the fort as the Raja of that place had the support of the ruler of Malwa. Then Malwa envoys highlighted the failure of the Gujarati ruler in checking Rana Kumbha of Mewar who had succeeded in snatching a number of places including Nagor from the Gujaratis and was allegedly oppressing Muslims there. They, therefore, proposed that the ruler of Gujarat would be better advised to forget about the unequal terms imposed by them on Hoshang in

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(1) This seems to be a reference to the role of Prince Ghayasuddin Muhammad and the nobles like Masnad-i-A'li A'zam Humayun Faddan Khan, Fateh Khan and Feroz Khan etc. cf. Shihab Hakim: p.75.



1407-8 A.D., and to enter into an alliance with Malwa with the explicit aim of checking the expansion of the Rajput state of Mewar. While proposing this, the envoys of Mahmud Khalji I made an appeal to the religious sentiment of the Gujarati ruler. It was their contention that the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa being Muslims were duty bound to collaborate with each other against a non-Muslim power.

These negotiations ended successfully and a treaty was concluded between the two kingdoms. The terms and the conditions of the treaty were as follows:- (1) Both the kingdoms agreed not to give any support and help to Rana Kumbha (2) None would try to extend their territories at the cost of others (3) The two rulers would keep in touch with each other in future (4) Out of the territories of Rana Kumbha comprising the vilayat of Ajmer, Nagor and Mewar whatever had already been conquered by the Gujaratis would remain with them. The ruler of Malwa shall have the right to annex the parts of these vilayats still under the control of the Rana.<sup>(1)</sup>

As long as Malwa was ruled by a strong ruler like Sultan Mahmud Khalji I, the terms of this treaty served as the basis of the relations between the two kingdoms. It may thus be assumed that from 1451-52 A.D., onwards down to 1500-1501 A.D., when with the assassination of Ghayasuddin Khalji the affairs of Malwa once

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(1) For the conclusion of the above treaty of Gujarat and Malwa in 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim:pp.75-76.

again fell into confusion the kingdom of Malwa was no longer having unequal relations with Gujarat and that in their mutual dealings the ruler of the two kingdoms treated each other as equals. But this situation seems to have been reserved with Sultan Mahmud Begada's intervention in 1500-01 A.D., <sup>to</sup> thwart Nasiruddin Khalji's usurption of the throne of Malwa.

It seems the rulers of Malwa tried to assert their independence from Gujarati domination and intervention by trying to weaken them whenever such an opportunity would offer itself to them. They had the tendency to go to the help of the rebellious nobles in Gujarat. Whenever there was a cleavage between the Gujarati ruler and any section of the nobility. But it is significant that on all such occasions the rulers of Malwa did not try to rationalize or justify their action with reference to any kind of claims, that they might be having over the kingdom of Gujarat. Then actions of the rulers of Malwa were pure and simple arbitrary military actions aimed at weakening <sup>their</sup> rival so that they were in a position to dominate over them. But for making any such move the Malwa rulers always waited for invitation from one or the other section of the Gujarati nobles. This attitude of the rulers of Malwa was in sharp contrast to that of the Gujarati rulers who invaded Malwa in 810 A.H./1407-8 A.D., <sup>(1)</sup> 842 A.H./1438-39 A.D., <sup>(2)</sup> 866 A.H./1462-63 A.D. & 86-7 A.H./1463-64 A.D. <sup>(3)</sup> and 919 A.H./

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(1) For the invasion of the ruler of Gujarat on Malwa in 1407-8 A.D., see Supra: p. 2.

(2) For the invasion of the ruler of Gujarat on Malwa in 1438-39 A.D., see, infra: p. 11.

(3) For the invasion of the ruler of Gujarat on Malwa army in Deccan in 1462-63 & 1463-64 A.D., see, infra: pp. 13-14.

(1)  
1513-14 A.D. etc. unilaterally without waiting for any invitation. In this connection one may quote Sultan Hoshang Shah's invasion of Gujarat in 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D., for helping the nobles who had rebelled against Sultan Ahmad Shah. In 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D., important Gujarati nobles; Uthman, Sarkheji, Shah Malik bin Sheikh Malik, Ahmad Sher Malik, Sulaiman Afghan (entitled A'zam Khan), and I'sa Salar etc. (jointly with the zamindars of Jhalawar, Idar, Champanir, Naddod and Mandal etc.) started a rebellion against Sultan Ahmad Shah I. They invited Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa to cooperate with him. But this invasion of Gujarat by the Malwa ruler proved abortive owing to non-cooperation of the Gujarati nobles who had invited him. Hoshang Shah, had to retire from Gujarat on this occasion, without being able to secure any military or diplomatic gain. (2)  
This instance goes to point to a tendency on the part of the Malwa rulers to attempt extending their influence over the Gujarati state with the help of the disaffected sections of the ruling groups. But at the same time it is true that the attempts that they made were not very successful and thus they eventually were not able to register any superior claims over Gujarat.

However, one constant feature of the mutual relations of Malwa and Gujarat was the tendency on the part of these powers to assume the right to intervene in each other's affairs in the situation of a tussle for succession. Such interventions were always

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- (1) For the invasion of the ruler of Gujarat on Malwa in 1513-14 A.D., see, infra: p. 12.
- (2) For the Hoshang Shah's invasion of Gujarat in 1413-14 A.D., on the request of the rebellious nobles, see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p. 360; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 451-52, Firishta: p. 184; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 40-41; This is also described by, Watson: p. 33; S.C. Misra: pp. 172-73.

aimed at helping a contender considered friendly to the intervening power to occupy the throne. On other occasions, they would intervene even without waiting for a tussle to flare up and again the aim would be the same, namely, ensuring that the person succeeding the deceased monarch is not allowed to adopt a hostile posture. Such instances are not rare to find in the history of the relations between Malwa and Gujarat. For example, in 813 A.H./ 1410-11 A.D., when, after Muzaffar Shah's death a tussle for succession rose in Gujarat, Hoshang Shah the ruler of Malwa extended military support to Muzaffar Shah's sons, Sher Khan, Sa'adat Khan, and Haibet Khah (instead of one lakh of tankas a day as the expenses of his army's march) who were opposing the accession of Ahmad Shah, one of the grandsons of the deceased Sultan nominated by him as his successor. This attempt by Hoshang Shah to intervene in the affairs of the state of Gujarat did not prove to be very successful. After the defeat of Sher Khan and other at the hands of Ahmad Shah against, then, the Malwa ruler had to withdraw from Gujarat. But, subsequently, he remained hostile to Ahmad Shah and was not reconciled to his accession. As already noticed in 813 A.H./ 1410-11 A.D., taking advantage of the rebellion by 'Uthman Ahmad Sarkheji and other nobles, he once again tried, though unsuccessfully, to dislodge Ahmad Shah from power. It indicates that if the ruler of Malwa was

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(1) For this military support of the Malwa ruler to the opponents of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat in 1410-11 A.D., see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.353; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.449-50; Firishta: pp.182-83. Also see, W.Haig:p.296; S.C.Misra:p.167.

(2) According to Nizamuddin Ahmad:pp.451-52; Sikander Manjhus:pp.40-41. the other nobles were Shah Malik bin Sheikh Malik, Ahmad Sher Malik, Sulaiman Afghan (commonly known as A'zam Khan) and Isa Salar etc.

strong and in a position to intervene in the affairs of Gujarat, he would not easily be reconciled to the coming on throne in Gujarat of a person hostile to him. There also exists a similar instance of a Gujarati ruler intervening in the struggle for succession in Malwa. In Ramzan 841 A.H./February-March 1438 A.D., Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat intervened in the tussle for succession that ensued after Hoshang's death. He unsuccessfully supported Hoshang's son, Masud Khan, against Mahmud Khalji I. (1) Similarly, in 917 A.H./1511-12 A.D., after the death of Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa there arose conflict between his two sons, Muhammad Khalji (commonly known as Saheb Khan) and Mahmud Khalji. After a severe contest, Mahmud Khalji II occupied the throne, while Muhammad Khalji fled to Gujarat. On the request of Muhammad Khalji, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II agreed to invade Malwa to instal him on the throne. After having made such a request, Muhammad Khalji fled from Ahmadabad and took shelter in the Deccan. (2) But

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- (1) For this intervention of Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat in the succession affair of Malwa in 1438-39 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: pp.33-35; Nizamuddin Ahmad:p.461; Firishta:p.190. These sources also inform us that Mahmud Khalji I was the son of Malik Mughis, - a wazir of Hoshang, who after overthrowing Ghazni dynasty assumed power in Malwa. SC Misra:pp-186-87 and UN Day: pp.100-101 refer to this invasion of Ahmad Shah in connection with the dynastic revolution in Malwa. According to SC Misra, this invasion was in many respects analogous to Hoshang's invasion of Gujarat at the beginning of his own reign.
- (2) For the information about taking shelter of Muhammad Khalji in Gujarat after flying from Malwa and about the assurance of help from the side of the Gujarati ruler, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p. 179; Haji-ud-Dabir:p.90;Firishta:pp.405,519; Sikander Manjhu: p.139. According to all above sources, after some time Muhammad Khalji fled from Gujarat because of his conflict with the envoy of Shah Ismail Safavi.

Sultan Muzaffar Shah II was not deterred from the resolve that he had already made. He invaded Malwa in 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D., with the declared aim of dividing the kingdom between the two brothers though it is true that he could not achieve his aim and had to withdraw from there on coming to know of a rebellion (1) of nobles and local chiefs at Chanderi against Muhammad Khalji II.

The above cases of intervention by the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa in the wars of succession taking place in the neighbouring states indicate that both of them considered this kind of intervention fully justified and consistent with norms that governed their mutual relations. It is significant that usually intervention was invited by one of the contending parties and it was not denounced by any one as an improper step on the part of the intervening power. Apparently the right of each one of these powers to influence the outcome of a war of succession in the neighbouring kingdom was fully established and it was not considered amounting to violation of the sovereignty and independence of kingdom where such a war was being fought.

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(1) For the decision of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat about invading Malwa in 1513-14 A.D. and later on its declaration, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.177; Haji-ud Dabir: p.93; but Firishta: p. 522, informs us that the Sultan of Gujarat returned from Malwa in 1513-14 A.D., because the army of Malwa under the command of Medini Rai (who was a Rajput general of Malwa army) gave him a drastic defeat.

After the treaty of 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., while the Gujaratis were prepared to tolerate any drive by the ruler of Malwa to extend his territory towards the north-west at the cost of Mewar, they were not agreeable to any move by them to snatch territory from the rulers of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar in the Deccan. The Gujaratis extended military support to these rulers whenever attacked by Malwa. In 821 A.H./1418-19 A.D., Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa sent his son Ghazni Khan with 15,000 cavalry to help Malik Nasir of Asir to re-capture the Fort of Thalner from his brother, Malik Iftikhar. On receipt of this news, the ruler of Gujarat promptly sent his forces to reinforce Malik Iftikhar. When the Gujarati forces arrived to rescue Nasir Khan, Ghazni Khan fled to Malwa and Nasir Khan surrendered to them.<sup>(1)</sup> Similarly, the Sultans of Gujarat often intervened to protect the Bahmani kingdom of Deccan from any invasion by the ruler of Malwa. In the Jamad I 866 A.H./1461-62 A.D. and Rabi I 867 A.H./1462-63 A.D., Sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa had invaded the

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(1) For this help of the ruler of Gujarat to Malik Iftikhar against Nasir Khan of Asir and Ghazni Khan in 1418-19 A.D., see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.365; Firishta: p.185; Nahavandi: p.136. This clash of the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa is also mentioned in Haig: p.297; S.C.Misra: p.176; U.N. Day: pp. 37-38.

territory of Nizam Shah Bahmani. On both these occasions, Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat gave military help to Nizam Shah against the ruler of Malwa.<sup>(1)</sup> Subsequent to Mahmud Khalji's second invasion of the Deccan, Sultan Mahmud Begada wrote to him reprimanding for his aggressiveness against Nizam Shah. He argued that invading the kingdom of a ruler who was not yet fully established was in violation of the norms of the inter-state relations. Sultan Mahmud Begada warned that if Mahmud Khalji I would invade the Deccan again, the Gujarati army would invade Malwa. According to Firishta and all other later sources, on receipt of the letter, Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa, not only showed repentance for his improper actions but, he also made a solemn promise to Sultan Mahmud not to undertake any further invasion against Ahmadnagar.<sup>(2)</sup> But the court historian of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I, Shihab Hakim, does not refer to this letter nor does he mention any expression of repentance by the

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- (1) For the two invasions of the Bahmani territories by the ruler of Malwa in 1461-62 and 1462-63 A.D. and for the military help rendered by Mahmud Begada of Gujarat to Bahmanids against the Malwa ruler, see, Shihab Hakim: pp.90-100; Sharfuddin Bukhari: pp.4-5; Mahmud Ghazni: pp.69-79, 93-94; Sayyed Ali Tabatabai: pp.100-106; Tarikh-i Alfi, p.540(a); Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.343; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.17; Firishta: p.384; Sikander Manjhu: p.84. But Shihab Hakim: pp.90-99, does not refer the help of the Gujarati ruler on the occasion of the first invasion, but it is mentioned by the other sources.
- (2) For the letter of Sultan Mahmud Begada to Sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa and also for his reply, see, Muhammad Sharfuddin: p.5; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.468; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.17; Firishta: p.385, Sikander Manjhu: pp.85-86.



ruler of Malwa<sup>7</sup>. Shihab Hakim further mentions another clash between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa on the problem of Deccan. He says that again in Jamad II 869 A.H./1465-66 A.D., the ruler of Malwa was busy in supporting the chiefs located to the south of Nerbada adjacent to the territories of Bider controlled by the Bahmanids, when he decided to crush the rulers of Gujarat and Daulatabad, jointly mobilised their forces to check any possible attempt by Mahmud Khalji<sup>(1)</sup> to invade Deccan again.

Although the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat had strained relations with each other and the ruler of Gujarat was always ready to check any move by the ruler of Malwa to expand towards Khandesh and Deccan, these rulers co-operated with each other in their dealing with the Rana of Mewar and other minor Rajput states allied with the Rana. It appears that both of them thought that the presence of strong Sisodia principality in south-eastern Rajputana presented a continuous

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(1) For the help of the ruler of Gujarat to Nizam Shah Bahmani of Deccan in 1465-66 A.D. against the ruler of Malwa, see, Shihab Hakim; pp.103-4. But no other source refer this evidence. So the authenticity of this evidence is doubtful.

threat to their security. The visible tendency of the ruler of Mewar to bring the smaller states existing in their neighbourhood under their hegemony<sup>(1)</sup> combined with influence wielded by the Rana over some of the Rajput zamindars located within Malwa<sup>(2)</sup> made these powers extremely suspicious of Mewar. It was on account of this situation that they concluded a treaty in 855 A.H./ 1451-52 A.D., in which they promised to give their help to each other against Rana and also decided that when either of them would get any portion of Rana's territory, the other would not interfere with it.<sup>(3)</sup> It seems the terms of this treaty were observed by the two powers in letter as well as spirit. In 861 A.H./1456-57 A.D., when

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- (1) For Mewar's tendency to annex smaller neighbouring states one may refer to the case of Nagora, an independent principality allied with Gujarat till 861 A.H./1457-58 A.D., when it was extinguished by the Rana and its territory annexed to Mewar some time after 1457-58 A.D. Cf: Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.432; Sikander Manhus: p.85. Also see, commissariat: pp.143-44.

Rana Sanga's acquisitions from Lodis as well as Malwa, mentioned by Babur also go to support our contention. Rana Sanga annexed Ranthambor, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Chanderi from Malwa some time after 925 A.H./1519-20 A.D. He also annexed the territory of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi uptill Dholpur. Cf: Babur: pp.189-90, 219.

- (2) For example under Mahmud Khalji III (3rd Safar 917 A.H./2nd May 1511 A.D. to 14th Sha'aban 937 A.H./April 2nd 1531 A.D.), Medini Rai and other Rajput chiefs in his service looked to the ruler of Mewar for support and guidance. Cf: infra: p. 16
- (3) For the treaty of 1451-52 A.D., see, supra: pp. 5-6.

Sultan Qutbuddin Shah of Gujarat invaded Mewar to punish the Rana for his intervention in Nagor, Sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa, gave full military support to him. The rulers of Gujarat and Malwa jointly defeated Rana Kumbha in 1456-57 A.D. (1) Later, in 923 A.H./1517-18 A.D. and 925 A.H./1519-20 A.D. (2) (3) the ruler of Gujarat, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, gave military help to the Malwa ruler Sultan Mahmud Khalji II in suppressing Medini Rai, who was closely allied to Mewar.

When in 926 A.H./1519-20 A.D., on account of the support that the ruler of Gujarat had given to the ruler of Malwa against Mewar and Rajput chiefs allied to the Sisodia ruler, a direct conflict arose between the rulers of Gujarat and Mewar, the ruler of Malwa, Mahmud Khalji II, adhering to the

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- (1) For the military help of Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa to the ruler of Gujarat in 1457-58 A.D., against the Rana of Mewar, see, Sikander Manjhu: p.84; Ali Muhammad Khan: p.52.
  - (2) For the military support of the ruler of Gujarat to Mahmud Khalji II against Medini Rai in 1517-18 A.D., see, Shah Abu Turab Wali: pp.3-4; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.179-83; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.94-97; Firishta: pp.408-10, 525-26; Sikander Manjhu: p.182-85, 187-88, 192.
  - (3) For the military support of the ruler of Gujarat to the Malwa ruler against Medini Rai in 1519-20 A.D., see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.183; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.97-98, 100; Firishta: p.411.

(1)  
 terms of 1451-52 treaty openly supported the Gujaratis.  
 Contemporary Persian chroniclers of 16th and 17th centuries regard religious antagonism as one of the primary factors conditioning the attitude of the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat towards Mewar. But this is not borne out fully by the evidence that we have relating to the attitude of these two powers towards other non-Muslim states. One can cite a number of cases to show that religious sentiments did not come in the way of their making a common cause with a non-Muslim chief fighting against a Muslim ruler. In 825 A.H./1421-22 A.D., the ruler of Gujarat invaded Malwa, at a time when its ruler, Hoshang Shah was conducting military operations against the Hindu ruler of Jajnagar. As a result of Gujarati pressure on Malwa, at this occasion, Hoshang Shah had to withdraw from Jajnagar without making any significant territorial acquisitions.  
 (2)  
 The rulers of Malwa also helped repeatedly

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(1) For coming of the Malwa ruler to Mewar with the intention of giving military support to the invading Gujarat army see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.490; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.104; Firishta: p.210; Sikander Manjhu: pp.201-2.

(2) For the invasion of Malwa by the ruler of Gujarat in 1421-22 A.D., see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.37; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.455; Firishta: p.186. Also see, Watson: p.88; W.Haig: p.298; S.C.Misra: pp.192-83; U.N.Day: pp.46-48.

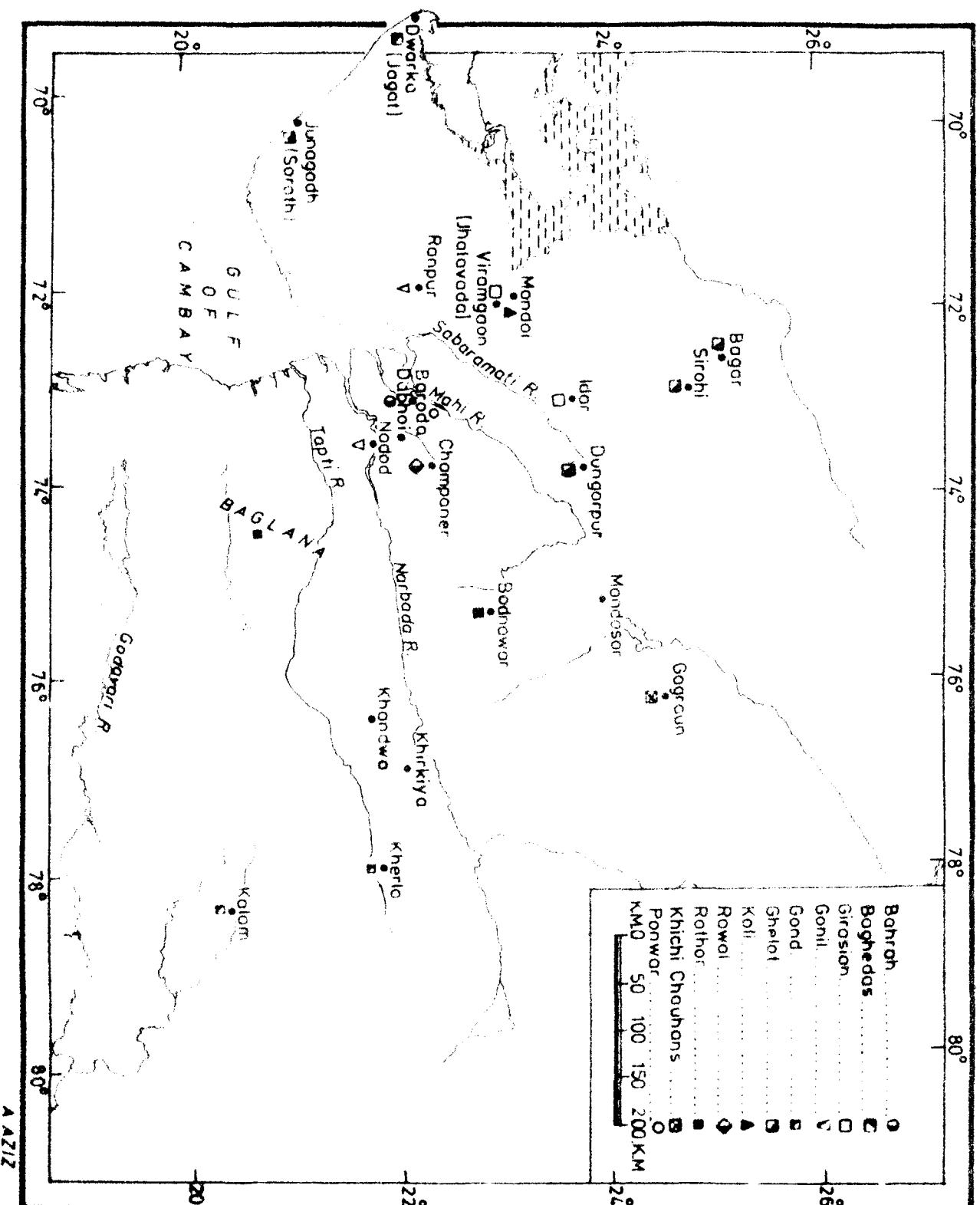
the Rajput chiefs of Idar, Champanir, Mandal, Jhalawar,  
Nadod etc. in their struggle against the Gujarati king.<sup>(1)</sup>

These cases go to show that the religious sentiment could not have been the most important factor urging the states of Gujarat and Malwa to make a common cause against Mewar. It was apparently their common fear of the growing might of the Sidodia state that forced them to co-operate with each other against Mewar. The religious motives attributed to them by the Persian chronicles in this connection, can at best be accepted as an indication of the false perception of an otherwise complex historical process by writers of these accounts.

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(1) For Malwa rulers military help to Rajput chieftains of Gujarat, see, Chapter III.

# ZAMINDARS OF GUJARAT AND MALWA KINGDOMS



## CHAPTER - III

ROLE OF ZAMINDARS IN MUTUAL RELATIONS OF GUJARAT AND MALWA:

From our study of the histories of Gujarat and Malwa it emerges that throughout the 15th century there existed a number of large zamindaris in the regions that fell, at one or the other time, under these two kingdoms. These zamindars were often fighting against the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa. Occasionally they also tried to use one of these kingdoms against the other for enlarging their own autonomy and influence. It is therefore important to examine as to what role was played by them in shaping the over all relations between the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa.

Before we examine the role of these zamindars, we are called up to identify their regions and the clans to which they belong. In our sources this information is often missing. The zamindars usually are mentioned in the context of their rebellions without necessarily giving their names, clans and other details. For identifying the clans and determining the approximate extent of the zamindaris, we have proceeded on the following lines. If in the context of a zamindar revolt its locale is indicated in sources by mentioning a particular place described in Ain-i  
vol.II  
Akbari as a sarkar or pargana headquarter, we have assumed that during the period of our study that particular sarkar or pargana

was being dominated by the zamindar involved in the revolt. When the clan of the zamindar concerned is not identified in the sources for this period, we have assumed that, by and large, he belonged to the same clan which is shown controlling zamindari in that region in Ain-i Akbari. We are encouraged to make such an assumption by a number of cases in which we find that the clans of zamindars mentioned as present in a particular place during our period were the same as those described in Ain-i Akbari. For example the clan of Rawal Rajputs are mentioned as holding zamindari of Champanir in 15th century, and the same clan is described in Ain-i Akbari as the dominant zamindar caste in sarkar Champanir. (1)

In the attached map, we have indicated the location of these zamindars by showing their headquarters with different symbols representing various zamindar clans. At a particular point of time during the period of our study these zamindaris could be divided into two broad categories: (a) the zamindaris located on the peripheries of Malwa and Gujarat, and (b) the zamindars within these two kingdoms.

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(1) For the ruling family of the Rawal Rajputs of Champanir in the 15th century A.D., see Sikander Manjhu: pp. 106, 135 and compare Ain-i Akbari, vol.II, p.122.



Among the zamindaris located on the northern periphery of Gujarat, Idar and Dungarpur were most important. The Ghelots of Dungarpur, during the period under discussion, were always exposed to aggression from Gujarat and Malwa (and perhaps also from Mewar) and generally paid tribute to <sup>(1)</sup> the one who claimed it by power and force; because it formed a sort of barrier between Malwa on the one side, and Mewar and Gujarat on the other. But they were nearer to Gujarat because it seems that they were from time to time seeking to rely on the Gujarati support in their struggle with other <sup>(2)</sup> neighbouring chiefs. While on the other hand, the Girasiah zamindars of Idar who were most of the time hostile to the kingdom of Gujarat, and rebelled against the rulers of Gujarat in 814 A.H./1411-12 A.D., 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D., 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D., 829-30 A.H./1426-27 A.D., 845 A.H./1440-41 A.D., <sup>(3)</sup> 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D. and 921 A.H./1515-16 A.D.; were

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- (1) The rulers of Dungarpur paid tribute to the Malwa Sultan in 863 A.H./1458-59 A.D. and 870 A.H./1465-66 A.D. respectively, while they paid tribute to the rulers of Gujarat in 836 A.H./1432-33 A.D. and in 846 A.H. respectively. Cf. Shihab Hakim:pp.90,122;Nizamuddin Ahmad:pp. 123,126. Also see, S.C.Misra:pp. 202, 204 U.N.Day: pp.3-4,195.
- (2) We see that the Ghelot zamindar, Rai Sam Das, of Dungarpur sought help from the ruler of Gujarat against the zamindar of Champanir in 870 A.H./1465-66 A.D. Cf. Shihab Hakim:pp.121. Also see, U.N.Day:pp.195-96. This shows that the relations between the zamindari of Dungarpur and the kingdom of Gujarat were not hostile. That should explain why the ruler of Gujarat did not consider it expedient to annex Dungarpur.
- (3) After every above rebellion, the Raja of Idar accepted to pay tribute to the ruler of Gujarat.

suppressed and their territory annexed to Gujarat, apparently, some time between 921 A.H./1515-16 A.D. and 924 A.H./1518-19

(1) A.D. The Ghelots of Sirohi and Bagad were other important

(2) zamindaris of that region in the north-east of Idar, and

these zamindaris also remained tributary chiefs of Gujarati

(3) kingdom. On the western periphery of Gujarati kingdom till seventies of the fourteenth century were Ghelot zamindari

of Sorath (modern Jungadh) and of Baghedas of Sankodhara and

(4) Jagat (modern Dwarka). These were located in the kathiawad

region, not controlled by the Gujarati Sultans till seventies,

but these were eventually annexed to Gujarat in 874-75 A.H./

(5) 1470-71 A.D. and 887 A.H./1482-83 A.D. respectively. On the

(1) The exact date of the annexation of Idar to Gujarat is not known. But Sultan Muzaffar Shah II appointed Nusrat-ul Mulk as Havaldar of Idar in 1518-19 A.D. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.178-79, 183; Sikander Manjhu: pp.181, 193. Also see, Commissariat: pp.272-73. The evidence might suggests that Idar was annexed to Gujarat some time between 1515-16 A.D. and 1518-19 A.D.

(2) For the Ghelots of Sirohi and Bagar, see, Ain-i Akbari, Vol.II, p. 511.

(3) For the information that the zamindaris of Sirohi and Bagad remained tributary chiefs of the Gujarati kingdom for a long period of its existence, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.184; Sikander Manjhu: pp.199-200.

(4) For the Ghelots of Sorath and Baghedas of Sankodhara and Jagat, see, Ain-i Akbari, Vol.II, p.137.

(5) One first hear of the zamindari of Sorath, existing on the eastern periphery of Gujarat, in the context of an uprising in Sorath in 815 A.H./1412-13 A.D. Cf. Tarikh-i Alf p.365; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.102; and of Jagat and Sankodhara, existing on the north-eastern border of the kingdom, in the context of its annexation to Gujarat in 1482-83 AD. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.151; Sikander Manjhu: p.130. Also see, Commissariat: pp.173-75.

south-eastern border of the kingdom situated a large and powerful Rathor zamindari of Baglana between Gujarat and Deccan. This zamindari also remained tributary of Gujarat till latter's annexation to Mughal Empire.<sup>(1)</sup>

On the other hand, there were a number of large zamindaris that were located in the heartland of the kingdom of Gujarat. Among them Mandal was controlled by Koli chiefs, a non-Rajput group, situated in the north-western part of the kingdom.<sup>(2)</sup> Among the other north-western zamindaris of Gujarat, Jhalawar and Ranpur are most important. The Girasiahs were in Jhalawar<sup>(3)</sup> and Gohels were in Ranpur (who were feudatories of the Gujarati kingdom).<sup>(4)</sup> Among the zamindaris located in the central and eastern parts of Gujarat, the Rawal

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- (1) For the Rathor zamindari of Baglana, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.490. This zamindari remained the tributary of Gujarat throughout the latter's independence. See, Akbar Nama: vol. III, p.30; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.119-20; Also see, SC Misra: p. 195.
- (2) The zamindari of Mandal firstly described in the accounts of 15th and 16th century Gujarat, in the context of the zamindar rising of 816 A.H./1413-14 AD. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad pp. 451-52, Firishta: p.185; Sikander Manjhu: pp.46-47.
- (3) For the Girasiahs of Jhalawar, see, Sikander Manjhu: pp.40-41.
- (4) For Gohels of Ranpur, see, Ras Mala: pp.344-47. Also see, Commissariat: p. 179.

zamindari of Champanir was most powerful one, which situated on the Gujarat frontier towards Malwa. It several times paid its allegiance either to Gujarat or Malwa, <sup>(1)</sup> but often asserted its independence <sup>(2)</sup> and it tended to become a buffer-zone between the two kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat. The zamindari of Champanir throughout remained a source of considerable worry for the ruler of Gujarat. It played a leading role in large scale of revolts of the Gujarati zaminders in 1413-14, 1417-18 A.D. The chiefs of Champanir also invited to *Malwa Rulers* to invade Gujarat in 1451-52, 1465-66, 1470-71, 1484 A.D. It had come to be viewed by Sultan Mahmud Begada as a major source of military weakness for Gujarat and therefore

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- (1) The Rajas of Champanir, by and large, remained a tributary of Gujarat from 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D. till fifties of the eight century A.H. Cf: Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 105, 107, 125-26. Also see, Commissariat: p.82. The same chief was also paying tribute to Malwa ruler in 852 A.H./1448-49 A.D., when he sought help from the ruler of Malwa against Muhammad Shah of Gujarat. Cf: Shihab Hakim: pp.68-69.
- (2) Before 1417-18 A.D., the Raja of Champanir was completely independent of any external control, i.e., either of Gujarat or Malwa, and for several times, he invited the ruler of Malwa to invade Gujarat. In 854 A.H./1449-50 A.D., he again became completely independent. Therefore at that time the ruler of Gujarat invaded Champanir for re-emerging his influence there but he remained unsuccessful in his attempt. After this incident Champanir remained independent zamindari till its annexation by Gujaratis in 1484-85 A.D. This is borne out by the evidence of 870 A.H./1465-66 A.D., when the zamindari of Champanir fought with an ally of Gujarat, Rai Sam Das of Dungarpur, and by the incident of 875 A.H./1471-72 A.D., when the Raja of Champanir gave protection to the rebels of Baroda and Dabhoi. Cf. Shihab Hakim: p.121; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.125-26, 148; Sikander Manjhu: pp.64-65, 125. Also see, U.N.Day: p. 195.

in 1484-85 A.D., he annexed it in his kingdom after a  
 (1)  
 prolonged military campaign. The other important zamindari  
 of this category was that of the Gohils of Nadod, which was  
 (2)  
 located in north-east of Gujarat. The Girasiahs of Dandah  
 were also another zamindar clan, whose territory was apparently  
 located within the sarkar of Ahmadabad. This particular  
zamindari was closely allied with the rulers of Gujarat.  
 Its chief was reported to have served in the Gujarat army  
 during Sultan Ahmad Shah's conflict with Hoshang Shah of Malwa  
 in 825-26 A.H./1421-22 A.D., and was killed with his 500 Rajput  
 (3)  
 followers in the battle. The Barha Rajputs of Dabhoi and  
 Baroda (these places were under the direct administration of  
 Gujarati Sultans) were not friendly with the rulers of Gujarat  
 and always rebelled against the central authority, whenever  
 (4)  
 they got such opportunity as in 870 A.H./1465-66 A.D.

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- (1) One first hear of the zamindari of Champanir in the context of the rebellion of Chiefs in 1413-14 A.D. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad; pp.451-52; Firishta; p.185; Sikander Manjhu; p.130.
- (2) We first hear of the zamindari of Nadod in the context of the zamindar rising in Gujarat in 1413-14 A.D. Cf. Ibid. The zamindars in Nadod were Gohils, is borne by Ain-i Akbari's (p.122) information that in the hilly region lying between Nadod and Nandurbar was dominated by them.
- (3) We received information about the zamindari of Dandah only in the context of the war of 825-26 A.H./1421-22 A.D., between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa. Cf.; Nizamuddin Ahmad; p.110; Sikander Manjhu; p.54. Also see, SC Misra; p.185.
- (4) For the Barha Rajputs of Baroda and Dabhoi, see, Ain-i Akbari, p.122 and for the conflict of the zamindars of these places with the rulers of Gujarat, see, infra; p. 19.

The zamindaris of Mandal, Nadod, Ranpur and Jhalawar, whose chief led rebellion against the ruler of Gujarat and had made a common cause with the ruler of Malwa in 810-11 A.H./1407-8 A.D., 813 A.H./1410-11 A.D., 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D. and 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D. respectively; were finally extinguished and their territories were brought under the direct control of the Gujarati rulers. Sultan Ahmad Shah conquered Mandal in 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D.<sup>(1)</sup>; and in 833 A.H./1429-30 A.D., he also conquered the zamindari of Jhalawar.<sup>(2)</sup> In 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D., the zamindar of Nadod accepted the overlordship of the ruler of Gujarat agreeing to pay a regular tribute to him.<sup>(3)</sup> After this the Nadod chief remained, by and large, on friendly terms with the Gujarati ruler. This is borne out by the absence of any evidence indicating that subsequently like other chiefs of Gujarat the chief of Nadod also frequently revolted against the central authority. Sultan Mahmud Begada

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- (1) For the conquest of Mandal in 1417-18 A.D., by the ruler of Gujarat, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.105. We also have an inscription of 867 A.H./1462-63 A.D. of Mahmud Begada's reign. The epigraph fixed over the central mihrab of the Sayyid's mosque, assigns the construction of the mosque to Nasir, son of Shaikhu on 1st Muharram 867 A.H./26th Sept. 1462 A.D. during the reign of Mahmud Shah Begada. Also see,
- (2) For the conquest of Jhalawar by the ruler of Gujarat in 1429-30 A.D. see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.115-17.
- (3) For the subjugation of the Raja of Nadod in 1417-18 A.D., by the ruler of Gujarat, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.105.

conquered and abolished the zamindari of Ranpur before  
(1)  
870 A.H./ 1464-65 A.D.

Similarly, the zamindaris of the above two categories also existed in Malwa and the surrounding territory. But unfortunately it is not possible to identify the clans and regions of all these zamindars. Among the zamindaris on the northern periphery of Malwa Surya (Vanshi) Rajputs of Mandsoor were very important. After a long struggle their zamindari (Mandsoor) was annexed to Malwa by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I  
(2)  
around 845 A.H./1442-43 A.D. The other important zamindari  
(3)  
of the same category was, that of Khichi Chauhans of Gagron. It was previously conquered by Sultan Hoshang Shah in 826 A.H./  
(4)  
1422-23 A.D. and finally by Sultan Mahmud Khalji in 846 A.H./  
(5)  
1442-43 A.D. The clans of the zamindaris of Kalyur and Sargaj are not identifiable, but their mention occurs in the context of Sultan Mahmud Khalji's invasion of Mewar territory which tends to suggest that these were located on the northern  
(6)  
periphery of Malwa.

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- (1) For the demolition of the zamindari of Ranpur by Mahmud Begada before 1464-65 A.D. See, Ras Mala:pp.344-47. Also see, Commissariat: pp. 179-80.
  - (2) For the conquest of the zamindari of Mandsoor by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I around 1442-43 A.D., see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p. 335. Also see, U.N.Day: p.175.
  - (3) For the Khichi Chauhans of Gagron, see, Shihab Hakim:f.134-b. Cf: U.N.Day:p.49.
  - (4) For the conquest of Gagron in 1422-23 AD by Hoshang Shah, see Nizamuddin Ahmad:p539; Firishta:p.238. Also see, U.N.Day: p.49.
  - (5) For the conquest of Gagron by Mahmud Khalji I in 1442-43 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim:pp.54-55. Also see, UN Day:pp.176-78.
  - (6) For the zamindaris of Kalyur and Khejwara, see, Shihab Hakim:pp.39-43, 64-65.

Several important zamindaris seems to have existed to the south of Narbada. Amongst the zamindaris of Khandwa and Khirkiya were more important ones. But even in case of these two, it is not possible to identify the clans controlling them. Unfortunately Abul Fazl does not mention <sup>the clans of</sup> these places in Ain-i Akbari neither does he identify the zamindars of sarkar Handia which roughly covered major part of territory between Narbada and Tapti, where, apparently these zamindaris were situated Khandwa, after a long resistance was annexed by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I in 869 A.H./1464-65 A.D. <sup>(1)</sup> In the same region were also located zamindaris of Kherla and Kalam, <sup>(2)</sup> which may be identified on the basis of Ain-i Akbari informations as belonging to Gonds. These were conquered by Hoshang Shah and Sultan Mahmud Khalji I in 825 A.H./1421-22 A.D. and 866 A.H./1462-63 A.D., respectively. But there are references to several other refractory zamindars of Kanera, Kareli, Kather, whose territories as well as <sup>(3)</sup> clans could not be identified.

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- (1) One first hear of the zamindari of Khandwa, which was in the south of Narbada river in sarkar Handia, in the context of its rebellion against the ruler of Malwa in 844 A.H./1440-41 A.D., Cf. Shihab Hakim: p.41. Also see, U.N.Day: pp.111-12.
- (2) For the independent zamindaris of Kherla and Kalam, situated in the south of Narbada river, see, Shihab Hakim: pp.18,101. Also see, U.N.Day: pp.45,55.
- (3) For the existence of the zamindaris of Kanera, Kareli, Kather, see, Shihab Hakim: pp.42, 102-5, 106.



Among the zamindars situated inside the Malwa kingdom, that of the Rathors of Badnaur (modern Badnawar) and see<sup>(1)</sup> the zamindaris of Khejwara and Kharal are mentioned. But except Badnaur ~~and Khejwara~~ we don't come across any information about the territories and ruling clans of these zamindaris which goes to indicate that these were comparatively smaller chieftainships.

From the foregoing description, we may conclude that a majority of the more important zamindars in Gujarat as well as Malwa were Rajputs. Those dominating in Gujarat were Girasiahs,<sup>(2)</sup> Ghelots, Baghelas, Gohils and Rawals, while the Rajput zamindars of Malwa belonged to Rathor and Surya (Vanshi) clans.<sup>(3)</sup> But at the same time, in both the regions, considerable number of zamindaris were controlled by non-Rajput clans. Among the non-Rajput groups located inside Gujarat, the most prominent<sup>(4)</sup> were the Kolis of Mandal. In and around Malwa, almost entire

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(1) For the zamindaris of Badnaur, Khejwara, and Kharal, see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 84, 129; Sikander Manjhu: p.146.

(2) For the Girasiah, Ghelot, Baghela, Gohil and Rawal Rajput zamindars of Gujarat, see, Ain-i Akbari: pp.120, 122, 133, 136, 138-39, 172; Sikander Manjhu: p.46; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.110.

(3) For Rajput zamindars of Rathor and Surya (Vanshi) of Malwa; see, Ain-i Akbari: pp. 95, 172.

(4) For the Kolis of Mandal, see, Ain-i Akbari: p.120.

group of zamindars in Trans Narbada region were non-  
Rajputs amongst whom some may be assumed to be Gonds. (1)

A peculiar feature of Malwa's relations with the zamindars appears to be that while those located on its north-western and south-western periphery were hostile and recalcitrant; it, by and large, did not face much trouble from the zamindars located inside the kingdom. Sultan Mahmud Khalji's decision in 860 A.H./1456-57 A.D. to abolish the zamindari of Badnaur and in 870 A.H./1466-67 A.D. to conquer the zamindari of Khajwara (2) are perhaps the only developments that might be treated as an exception to the above rule. But the annexation of Badnaur was not so much due to the strain relations of Malwa with it, in doing so Sultan Mahmud Khalji was guided by anxiety to prevent the Rana of Mewar from occupying Badnaur. (3) This apparent absence of a conflict between the central authority of the Malwa kingdom and the zamindars located in its heartland may be explained in terms of the comparative weakness of the zamindars in this region as a result of the firm administrative control

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(1) For the Gonds of Malwa kingdom, see, Ain-i Akbari, pp.134, 177.

(2) For the annexation of Badnaur by the ruler of Malwa in 1456-57 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: p.84.

(3) For the annexation of Khajwara by the ruler of Malwa in 1456-57 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim : p.129.

exercised over it by the Central authority since the Tughlaq period. From opposite angle one can also argue that in Malwa, possibly, there existed a greater degree of reconciliation between the zamindars and central authority resulting from the policy of Mahmud Khalji's successors to accommodate the local chiefs in their nobility in considerable strength.

As already stated, the zamindaris situated on the northern periphery of Malwa, were always in conflict. This conflict led Sultan Hoshang Shah and specially Sultan Mahmud Khalji I to destroy many of these zamindars and annexed their territory to Malwa. Sultan Hoshang Shah invaded Gagron on 13th September 1422 A.D., and in spite of the firm resistance offered by Achaldas Khichi, the chief of that place, conquered it on 27th September 1423 A.D. (1) Mandor was invaded and (2) conquered around 845 A.H./1441-42 A.D. In 844 A.H./1440-41 A.D. (3) the ruler of Malwa also subdued Sargaj, which was an important zamindari of that period. Bhoj, the chief of that place, accepted to pay.

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(1) For the conquest of Gagron in 1423 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: p.134-b. Cf. U.N.Day: pp.49-50; Firishta: p.238.

(2) For the conquest of Mandor by Sultan Mahmud Khalji in 1458-59 A.D., see, Nizamuddin Ahmed: p.335; Also see, U.N.Day: p. 175.

(3) For the subjugation of Sargaj by Mahmud Khalji I in 1441-42 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: p.45. Also, see, U.N.Day: pp. 114-15.

(1)  
 tribute to the ruler of Malwa. Dungarsen, the raja of Kalyur also accepted the sovereignty of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I in 851 A.H./1447-48 A.D. (2)  
 It is of interest to note that during this period of annexations of the northern zamindaris into Malwa, the ruler of Gujarat remained neutral and did not try to intervene. The rulers of Gujarat actually regarded Mewar as their main adversary in that region. They felt that Malwa's success in annexing the zamindaris located on its northern periphery only pre-empted their fully aligning themselves with Mewar. Again, the rulers of Gujarat could take any measure for preventing the zamindaris located to the south of Narbada river. This was firstly because zamindaris invaded by Malwa in this region were separated from Gujarat by territory of the State of Khandesh, and secondly because on the south-eastern periphery of Gujarat there existed hostile zamindaris of Champanir and Nadod, who most of the time were making a common cause with Malwa. In any case, owing to this inability of the kingdom of Gujarat to intervene in the struggle

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- (1) For the subjugation of Sargaj by Mahmud Khalji I in 1441-42 A.D. see, Shihab Hakim: p. 45. Also see, U.N. Day: pp. 114-15.
- (2) For the annexation of Kalyur into Malwa, see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 64-65.

between the authority of Malwa, and zamindars located in its frontier it could be possible for Mahmud Khalji I to annex Khirkiya in 844 A.H./1441-42 A.D., Kherla had already annexed into Malwa by Sultan Hoshang Shah in 825 A.H./1421-22 A.D. In 866 A.H./ 1462-63 A.D., Kalam was also included into the kingdom of Malwa. After the wars of 844 A.H./1440-41 A.D., 858 A.H./1454-55 A.D. and 866 A.H./1462-63 A.D., Sultan Mahmud Khalji I annexed Khandwa into Malwa in 869 A.H./1465-66 A.D. In the same year, the zamindari of Bavabhoi (Kanera and Jatasankar), and also the chiefdoms of Kather and Kareli were conquered and annexed into Malwa.

It seems the zamindar resistance against central authority of the Gujarat kingdom was much more fierce wide

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- (1) For the conquest of Khirkiya by the ruler of Malwa in 1441-42 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: p.42. Also see, U.N.Day, p. 111.
  - (2) For the conquest of Kherla in 1441-42 A.D., into Malwa, see, Shihab Hakim: p.18; Firishta: p.237. Also see, U.N. Day: p.45.
  - (3) For the conquest of Kalam by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa in 1462-63 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: p.101. Also see, U.N.Day: p.55.
  - (4) For the wars of the Raja of Khandwa with the ruler of Malwa and the annexation of it into Malwa in 1465-66 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 41-42, 80, 111. Also see, U.N.Day, op.cit pp.111-12.
  - (5) For the annexation of the zamindari of Bavabhoi and Kather and Kareli into Malwa in 1462-63 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 103-106.

spread. The zamindars resisting the Gujarati authority were located in regions bordering upon Malwa, on the northern and southern peripheries as well as in the heartland of the kingdom. The rulers of Gujarat were most the time having strained relations and intermittent fighting with the independent zamindaris, who were located <sup>on</sup> their peripheries (Idar and Sorath), as well as in the heartland of their kingdom (such as Bhilawar, Mandal, Champanir, Madod etc.) But it is noteworthy that the rulers of Gujarat had their relations with the zamindari of Dungarpur, by and large, cordial. The rulers of Malwa had a tendency to encourage these zamindars against the rulers of Gujarat, whenever any of them had a clash with the latter. By giving their military help to these zamindaris, the rulers of Malwa wanted to weaken Gujarat, so that the latter's hand were not free to deal with them. But it is significant that on all such occasions the rulers of Malwa did not try to rationalize or justify their actions with reference to any kind of claims that they might be having over the kingdom of Gujarat. These actions of the rulers of Malwa were simple arbitrary military moves aimed at weakening their rivals. But for making any such move the Malwa rulers always waited for invitation from the Gujarati zamindars. This is borne out by Hoshang Shah's intervention in the

developments taking place inside Gujarat in 813 A.H./1410-11 A.D., 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D. and 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D. On all these occasions, Rai Punja of Idar, Rai Tarbangdas of Champanir, Rai Satarsal Giresiah of Jhalawar and Rai Sabri of Nadod etc. had started a joint revolt against Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat and had requested Hoshang Shah to give them military help. But it seems that Hoshang Shah was not able to make much headway against the Gujarati ruler on these occasions, as the local chiefs who had invited him could not resist the military pressure of the kingdom of Gujarat and their revolt collapsed within a short time. They in fact ditched Hoshang Shah by entering into an agreement with the Gujarati ruler without his approval. Hoshang Shah had to retire from Gujarat without being able to secure any military or diplomatic gain from his misadventures. <sup>(1)</sup> In 816 A.H./1413-14 A.D., soon after the suppression of the second joint revolt of the zamindar referred to above, the chieftain

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(1) For the intervention of Hoshang Shah of Malwa in zamindar uprising in Gujarat in 1410-11, 1413-14 and in 1417-18 A.D., against Sultan Ahmad Shah I, see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.363; Mizamuddin Ahmad: pp.96,451-52; Firishta: p.185; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 40-41; 46-47. Also see, commissariat: p.82; Watson: pp.33-34; W.Haig: pp. 297-98; Elphinstone: p.673 (appendix); S.C.Misra: p.177; U.N.Day: pp.36-37.

of Jhalawar had again revolted and had sought Hoshang Shah's help. On this occasion, the Gujarati ruler Sultan Ahmad Shah found it difficult to tackle the situation because of the simultaneous rebellion of his nobles (Ahmad Sarganji, Shah Malik bin Sheikh Malik etc), and retired<sup>(1)</sup> from Jhalawar without suppressing the Raja. Similarly, Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa again intervened in Gujarat in 821 A.H./1417-18 A.D., when he came to know about the rebellion of the Raja of Sorath. Encouraged by these developments, the Raja of Nadod had also renewed his rebellion. On this occasion, the ruler of Malwa had sent his son, Prince Ghazni Khan, for invading Gujarat. He was helped by the ruler of Asser, Nasir Khan. At this time the Gujaratis had to simultaneously fight on two fronts. Sultan Ahmad Shah I sent one of his nobles, Mahmud Khan, with a large army for suppressing the rebellion of the Raja of Sorath and on the other hand deputed Mukhlis-ul-Mulk and Mahmud Barki for checking Ghazni Khan and Nasir Khan. Ahmad Shah had simultaneously ravaged the territory of Nadod. As on other occasion, the invading forces of Malwa commanded by Ghazni Khan and Nasir Khan fled from Gujarat as the Gujaratis after

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(1) For the invasion of the Malwa ruler in 1413-14 A.D., in support of the Raja of Jhalawar, see, Firishta: p.184; Nahavandi: pp.111-12. Also see S.C. Misra: p.173; U.N.Day: p.36.



having tackled the zamindars came forward to check their  
 (1) advance. This process of zamindar rebellions continued there-  
 after, and again in 875 A.H./1471-72 A.D., the chiefs of  
 Baroda and Dabhoi rebelled in Gujarat and sought help from the  
 chief of Champanir, Champak bin Gangdas. On this occasion  
 the ruler of Gujarat invaded Champanir for forcing its chief  
 to withdraw his support from the rebellious zamindars of Baroda  
 and Dabhoi. These zamindars after they had been expelled from  
 the above territories had taken shelter in Champanir. On this  
 occasion, however, the Gujaratis were successful in forcing  
 the Raja to withdraw his support from the rebellious zamindars.  
 This happened despite active military assistance given by  
 (2) Malwa to the chief of Champanir.

These instances are clearly indicative of the  
 persistent efforts made by the rulers of Malwa to put an end to  
 the hegemonic claims of the Gujaratis by trying to weaken them  
 with the help of these independent zamindaris. But at the  
 same time it is also true that the attempts made by them to  
 humble or weaken the Gujaratis were not very successful, and  
 therefore, they were not able to permanently shake off the

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- (1) For the rebellion of the Raja of Sorath and the invasion of  
 Prince Ghazni Khan of Malwa on Gujarat in 1417-18 AD see,  
Tarikh-i Alfi: p.365; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.453. Also see, Ras  
Malat: p.348; Halat: p.297.
- (2) For the rebellion of the zamindars of Baroda and Dabhoi in  
 1471-72 AD against the ruler of Gujarat, and the intervention  
 of Raja of Champanir and the ruler of Malwa in it see,  
 Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.148; Sikander Manjhu: p.125.

hegemonic claims unilaterally presumed by the rulers of Gujarat in their relations with Malwa. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that the zamindars who participated in the rebellions of 1410-11 A.D., 1413-14 A.D. and 1417-18 A.D. belonged to different castes and clans including Rajput as well as non-Rajputs. Which shows that already by this time process of adjustments, among the zamindar clan has reached a point where they tended to be have as one caste. This also borne out by the evidence suggesting gradually induction of the Kolis into the Rajput group. The penetration of the Rajputs and their social system in the eastern regions and their impact on the tribal people led to a new consciousness broader solidarity emerging among at least the upper echilons of the local chiefs. It was, apparently, as consequence of this process that at the political plans the Rajput chiefs succeeded, in course of time, in gaining the support of non-Rajput local chiefs against the rulers of Gujarat.

The Rawal Rajput chieftainship of Champanir had a unique position in the bilateral relations of Malwa and Gujarat. Within Gujarat it was becoming the centre of zamindar resistance. The Raja of Champanir helped other minor chiefs in their defiance of the Gujarati rulers in 1413-14 A.D.

and 1417-18 A.D. It was, apparently, to strengthen this role of the chief of Champanir that the Gujarati rulers tried to prop up the local chiefs who were known to be hostile to the chiefs of Champanir and tried to use them for weakening the latter's position. For instance in 1466-67 when the Ghelot chief of Dungarpur came into a conflict with the chief of Champanir, Sultan Mahmud Begada gave him military assistance. (1)

On other hand, the rulers of Malwa always regarded as a safe Buffer for separating their territory from Gujarat kingdom. They knew that if the strategically important territory of Champanir was occupied by the Gujaratis or if it passed under its influence, then it would become comparatively easier for the forces of Gujarat to penetrate into the Malwa, by making this territory of a higher altitude as the base of their operation. Hence they always extended military help to Champanir against Gujarat. When in 854 A.H./1450-51 A.D., Sultan Muhammad Shah of Gujarat besieged Champanir, the Sultan of Malwa tried to help Champanir by sending his armies to invade Gujarati territory around Dohad and this development started a war which continued for above one year. In this war Malwa and Champanir jointly opposed Gujaratis but finally their forces were defeated by the Gujaratis in the battle of

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(1) For the military assistance of the ruler of Gujarat to the Raja of Dungarpur against the chief of Champanir, see, Supra ! p.3.

(1)  
 Kapadvanj in Safar 855 A.H./April 1451 A.D. During this war the ruler of Champanir had paid the ruler of Malwa an amount of one lac silver tankas which was in addition to the payment towards meeting on the military campaign. (2)

Again, Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji, offered to help to the Raja of Champanir in 888 A.H./1483-84 A.D., on the condition that latter should to pay to him one lack silver tankas and in addition to that also re-imbursed expenses on military expeditions that might be sent to Champanir for the Raja's rescue. (3) But on this occasion, eventually the Malwa ruler decided not to intervene in the struggle that ensued between Gujarat and Champanir. If our sources are to be believed,

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- (1) For the Malwa rulers invasion of Gujarat in 1450-52 A.D., on behalf of the Raja of Champanir, see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 62-64; Haji-ud Dabir: pp. 2-10; Firishta: pp. 190-92, 249-50; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 47, 69-8. Also see, Ras Mala : p. 352, Commissariat: pp. 129, 141-42; W. Haig; p. 301; Watson: p. 37. But according to Shihab Hakim: pp. 68-69, this war was held between Malwa and Gujarat in 852 A.H./1448-49 A.D.
- (2) For the economic gains of the ruler of Malwa in the war of 1450-52 A.D. see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p. 462; Firishta: p. 190; Sikander Manjhu: p. 47. Also see, Commissariat: p. 129; W.N. Day: p. 123.
- (3) For the decision of the ruler of Malwa to support the Raja of Champanir against the Sultan of Gujarat in 1483-84 A.D., see, Sharfuddin Bukhari: pp. 14-15; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 159-60; Haji-ud-Dabir: p. 26; Firishta: p. 397; Sikander Manjhu: p. 106. Also see, Ras Mala: p. 372; Commissariat: pp. 193-94; W. Haig: p. 309; Watson: p. 43; UN Day: pp. 226-33.

he adopted this attitude on the advice of the 'Ulema who were against his help to a non-Muslim chief against a Muslim ruler. (1) Apparently, more important consideration persuading Ghayasuddin Khalji to desist from helping Champanir on this occasion was the impressive military mobilisation made by Gujaratis including the deployment of a powerful park of artillery commanded by Ottoman experts. This is borne out by the evidence derived from Tabaqat-i Ahmadi and Tarikh-i Firishta, that Sultan Mahmud Begada used his artillery (2) against Champanir in 899 A.H./1484-85 A.D. very effectively.

The annexation of Champanir to the kingdom of Gujarat marks the watershed in the history of bilateral relationship between the two kingdoms. It heralded the military supremacy of Gujarat over the entire region. The other independent principalities, like Nadod, Mandal, Jhalwar etc. have already been abolished or subdued by the rulers of Gujarat. In course of time, the state of Malwa, which was uptill now a force to be "reckoned with" ceased to be so. Although previously it was not much successful against Gujarat, but still it tried to

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- (1) For the intervention of the 'Ulema of Malwa at the time of the possibility of war of 1483-84 A.D. between the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa, see, Sharfuddin Bukhari: p.15; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.477; Sikander Manjhu: p.137. Also see, Commissariat: p.194; U.N.Day: pp.230-31.
- (2) The Gujarati ruler used his artillery on the western gate of the fort of Champanir and demolished it. By this, the task of conquering the Champanir fort became easier for them. For this use of artillery from the side of the kingdom of Gujarat against Champanir in the war of 1484-85 A.D. see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.161; Firishta: p.202.

maintain the balance of power by putting hurdles in the way of every expanding ambitions of Gujarat. But from this time it was no longer in a position to play that role.

Quite understandably, therefore, after the annexation of Champanir to Gujarat in 888-89 A.H./1484-85 A.D., there came a remarkable change in mutual relations of Gujarat and Malwa. Subsequently the phenomenon of intermittent fighting between them tended to recede. Both the states followed, more or less, a policy of reconciliation. Therefore, neither the ruler of Malwa intervened in the affairs of Gujarat, nor the Gujaratis invaded Malwa thereafter except in 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D.<sup>(1)</sup> It is to the point to note that the ruler of Gujarat did not invade Malwa in 906 A.H./1500-01 A.D., when Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji came to the throne, after poisoning his father Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji.<sup>(2)</sup> This was so different from the characteristic relation of the Gujarati rulers to similar developments in Malwa in the

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(1) In 1513-14 A.D., the ruler of Gujarat; Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, invaded Malwa on behalf of Prince Muhammad Khan of Malwa, who wanted to get the throne from his brother Mahmud Khalji II. Cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.177, Firishta: p.206. Also see, W.Haig: pp. 317-18; U.N.Day: pp.291-93.

(2) For poisoning Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji by his son Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji in 1500-01 A.D., see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p. 479; Haji-ud Dabir: p.32; Sikander Manjhu: p.117.

(1)  
 past. It also appears that after the extinction of the zamindari of Champanir, Malwa lost all leverage with zamindar of Gujarat and therefore, subsequently, desisted from helping the zamindars against the central authority in Gujarat. Its ruler had no option but to align themselves openly with the Gujarati rulers in their struggle against Rajput zamindars in the north receiving help and encouragement from Mewar. This significant shift in the position of the Malwa state is highlighted by the manner in which Sultan Mahmud Khalji II sought help from Muzaffar Shah II for crushing Medini Rai and other local chiefs in his own service. (2) Muhammad Khalji's support to Muzaffar Shah II in his abortive invasion of Mewar in 927 A.H./1521-22 A.D. was quite in line with the same (3) policy.

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- (1) For the attitude of the Gujarati rulers to similar developments in Malwa in pre 1484-85 period, see, Chapter II, pp. 2, 4.
- (2) For the help of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II to Sultan Mahmud Khalji II against Medini Rai and Rana Sanga in 1517-18 A.D., see, Shah Abu Turab Wali: pp. 3-4; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp. 179-83; Haji-ud-Dabir: pp. 94-97; Firishta: pp. 408-10, 525-26; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 182-85. Also see, Ras Mala: pp. 381-82. commissariat: pp. 273-74; W. Haig: p. 319; Watson: p. 46; Elphinston: pp. 676, 680 (both Appendix); U.N. Day: pp. 293-99.
- (3) For the support of Sultan Mahmud Khalji II to Sultan Muzaffar Shah II against Rana Sanga in 1520-21 A.D., see, Nizamuddin Ahmad: p. 490; Haji-ud-Dabir: p. 104, Firishta: p. 210; Sikander Manjhu: pp. 201-2. Also see, commissariat, p. 279; W. Haig: p. 321.

## CHAPTER - IV

The Role of 'Ulema and Mashaikh  
in Malwa - Gujarat Relations:

The role of religion in shaping the actual policies of the medieval Indian states was, of course, very limited. But the fact remains that religious slogans were always advanced by the rulers and their officials in order to justify their ambitious policies and measures in respect of foreign relations as well as home affairs, which had nothing to do with the actual spirit of the religion. Apparently, at no time, medieval Indian history was free from such symptoms. Almost every ruler, at one or the other occasion, had to resort to concealing his real motives under the garb of religion.

The Sufi saints of Chishti and Suharwardi orders had a strong social base. The saints of these orders were particularly influential in Gujarat and Malwa during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is, therefore, quite understandable that the rulers of these states should have tried to exploit their popularity with certain sections of the people, by asking them to extend their 'spiritual help' for the military enterprises which they undertook from time to time or by sending them to negotiate peace with the powers against whom they would be fighting at a given time. The religious divines were usually



rewarded by the rulers for their help by giving them large sums in cash, some times also through conferment of grants. Such offerings would usually be made by the rulers at the time of their return from a successful military campaign. For example in 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. Shah Alam, son of Qutb-ul-Aqtab Shaikh Burhanuddin, reported to have extended his "spiritual help" to Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat in his conflict with Sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa. After this campaign Sultan Qutbuddin paid 70,000 silver tankas to Shah Alam. (1)

The divines on their part, were not averse to extend their "spiritual support" to the rulers under whose protection they lived. They also used to readily agree to act as diplomats. In this regard they were, apparently, motivated by a desire to obtain material gains through the state patronage. There are number of cases when we find religious leaders 'ulemas as well as sufis readily extending their co-operation to the rulers. One such case we have noticed above. Many more similar cases we are going to take note of in the ensuing discussion.

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(1) Sultan Qutbuddin paid, at that time, silver tankas instead of golden tankas and also did not pay equivalent to the numbers of prophets who came in world, as he promised with Shah A'lam before the war. After rejecting these silver tankas Shah A'lam distributed 1,24,000 tankas, equivalent to the numbers of prophets (who came in the world), among his followers and after it, he became angry with Sultan Qutbuddin. Cf. Sikander Manjhu:pp.80-81.

The Sufis who played an important role in the relations of Gujarat and Malwa were Shaikh Burhanuddin, (1)  
 Shah A'lam (2) and Shaikh Kamal Malawi. (3) Qutb-ul-Aqtab Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shah A'lam belonged to the Suharwardi silsilah. (4)  
 They were Bukhari Sayyeds. Shaikh Kamal Malawi, on the

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- (1) According to Ain-i Akbari: Vol.III, p.173; Haji-ud-Dabir p.7; Sikander Manjhus: p.71; Ali Muhammad Khan: pp.26-27, 93(Supp.); Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehalvi: p.156; Shaikh Burhanuddin Qutb-ul-Aqtab was the grandson of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan (It was generally believed that the Sultanate of Muzaffar Shahi dynasty was result of the blessings of him). He was ancestor of Sayyed Ja'far Mas'ud, brother of Imam Hasan 'Askari. He borned on 14th Rajab 790 A.H. and died on 8th Zil-Hijjah 857 A.H. in Batwa, which was near Ahmadabad, and also buried there. He transferred from Patan to Ahmadabad, when Sultan Ahmad Shah erected this town in 1413-14 A.D. Also see, Muslim Communities in Gujarat: p.119; Pearson: pp.147-48.
- (2) According to Ain-i Akbari: Vol.III, p.174; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.8; Sikander Manjhus: pp.17,76; Ali Muhammad Khan: pp. 37-38, 94 (Supp); Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehalvi: p.156. Also see, Muslim Communities in Gujarat: p.119; Pearson: pp.147-48, Shah Alam was the eleventh son of Shaikh Burhanuddin, whose name was Sirajuddin Abul Berkati, and also Miyan Manjhla or Manjhan. He was borned on 17th Zil-qada 817 A.H. and died on 20th Jamad II 880 A.H. He participated in the war of 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. from the side of the ruler of Gujarat, see, infra: p.4-5
- (3) Haji-ud-Dabir: p.7; Sikander Manjhus: p.71; Ali Muhammad Khan: pp.93-94 (Supp), refer that Shaikh Kamal Malawi's tomb is on the back side of the Mosque of Khudawand Khan in I'lampur. He came and resided in Gujarat from Malwa during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah. His relations were very friendly with the rulers of Malwa and he was against the rulers of Gujarat. Also see, Pearson: p.148.
- (4) For the origin of Qutb-ul-Aqtab and Shah A'lam, see, Ali Muhammad Khan:(Supp),pp.26-27,37-38. Also see, K.A.Nizami, 'The Suharwardi Silsilah and its influence on Medieval Indian Politics', Medieval India Quarterly, III(1957) pp.144-9. Cf. Pearson, ibid. p.148.

other hand, belonged to the Chishti <sup>(1)</sup> silsilah. If one is to believe Persian chroniclers, many of the expeditions of the Gujarati or Malwa Sultans in this period were successful either because of the "blessings" of one or the other of these Saints. For instance when in 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., a war was fought between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa, Shaikh Kamal Malawi, a saint who was settled at Alimpur in Gujarat gave his "spiritual help" to sultan Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa. He even invited Mahmud Khalji to invade Gujarat. Shaikh Kamal was sympathetic to Mahmud Khalji, because the latter was his disciple and at one occasion had given him 500 silver tankas to enable him to pay his outstanding debts. Shaikh Kamal was hostile to Sultan Muhammad Shah of Gujarat as he had seized this amount. On the other hand, the two Suharwardi saints, Shaikh Burhanuddin and his son Shah A'lam, never withhold their blessings from the Gujarati rulers. In fact, it was generally believed that the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty of Gujarat was able to rise to power owing to the blessings of their ancestor Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Sayyed <sup>(2)</sup> Jalaluddin Bukhari. In 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., the Gujarati

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(1) For the origin of Shaikh Kamal, see, Ali Muhammad Khan: (Supp), p.93. Also see, Pearson: p.148.

(2) For the general belief that the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty of Gujarat was able to rise to power owing to the blessings of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, see, Sikander Manjhu: p.11.

ruler Sultan Qutbuddin approached Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shah A'lam for their blessings in his war against Malwa on the plea that being descendants of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan they were expected to sympathise and help him. It is interesting to remember that on account of their sympathies for the contending parties the mutual relations of Shaikh Kamal and Shaikh Burhanuddin had become strained.<sup>(1)</sup>

The instances of religious divines intervening in the disputes between Gujarat and Malwa are numerous. Many such cases can be cited. Besides the "role" played by Shaikh Kamal and Shaikh Burhanuddin in 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. there are many other instances suggesting that the 'ulema and Mashaikh took interest in the mutual relations of the two powers and tried to influence the developments that went to shape them. In this connection one may particularly refer to the role of the 'Ulema in Malwa, who appears to have by and large, discourage the Khalji rulers from helping Hindu zamindars in their struggle against the Gujarati Sultans. When the Gujarati forces invaded Champanir in 852 A.H./1448-49 A.D. the Raja Mangal Das appealed to Mahmud

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(1) For the stand taken by these saints in the war of 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D., see, Haji-ud-Dabir: pp.6-8; Sikander Manjhu: pp.47,71-77; Ali Muhammad Khan: pp. 93-96 (Supp). Also see, Pearson: p.148.

Khalji I for help. Although the Raja of Champanir at this time was allied to Malwa, but Mahmud Khalji was reluctant to go to the rescue of the Raja because, the latter, during the preceding year, had interfered with the presents that were sent by the ruler of Gujarat to Mahmud Khalji. But on further deliberation ~~in~~ the ruler of Malwa decided to give help to the Raja of Champanir on the consideration that if Champanir, located on a higher altitude than the Gujarati plains, was conquered by the Gujarati ruler, they would come to pose a threat to the security of Malwa kingdom. It is significant that, on this occasion, the Sultan of Malwa took this decision after formally consulting the 'ulema', who  
(1)  
readily gave their consent. This is an indication of the influence that the 'ulema' exercised on the state policy in this particular respects.

A similar situation had arisen in 888 A.H./1483-84 A.D. when Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat invaded Champanir. On this occasion, Sultan Ghayasuddin Khalji of Malwa decided to give military help to the Raja of Champanir (Rawal Patai) on the latter's request. While marching to Champanir, at Na'alcha, he was persuaded to summon a meeting of the 'ulema'

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(1) For the incident of 852 A.H./1448-49 A.D., see, Shihab Hakim: pp. 68-69.

present in the camp. At this meeting he argued that the slogan of  Jihad  raised by Mahmud Begada was merely a pretext for occupying Champanir which represented a buffer between Gujarat and Malwa. He pointed out that after occupying Champanir, Mahmud Begada could turn his forces against Malwa. But the  'ulema  were not impressed by this line of argument. They contented that even if the apprehensions of Malwa ruler had some basis, it was not permissible for him to support a non-Muslim chief against a Muslim ruler. They stated that if he would create difficulties in the way of Mahmud Begada's  Jihad  against the Raja of Champanir it would actually amount to violation of  shariat  and therefore a sinful act. It is noteworthy that having come up against stubborn opposition of the  'ulema , Ghayasuddin Khalji changed his decision to help the Raja of Champanir. (1)  
He returned to Mandu from the way.

In the context of this episode, it is noteworthy that at the time of setting out from Mandu, the Malwa ruler did not consider it expedient to consult the  'ulema  in the

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(1) For the role of  'ulema  and  Masshaikh  in the war of 1483-84 A.D., see, Muhammed Sharfuddin: pp.14-15; Nizamuddin Ahmad: p.477; Firishta: p.202; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.26; Sikander Manjhu: p.136. Also see, Commissariat: pp.193-94; W. Haig: p.309.

matter. He was apparently set upon preventing Mahmud Begada from occupying Champanir. A reference to 'ulema would have created difficulties in way of his marching to the rescue of the Champanir chief. But it seems by the time Malwa army reached Na'alcha, Mahmud Begada had turned his attention  
(1)  
towards Dohad. Apparently he wanted to avoid a direct clash with Malwa over Champanir. On the other hand, it also appears that once immediate threat to Champanir was averted, the Malwa ruler on his part was anxious to withdraw. Thus we find him using 'ulema's opinion as the pretext for doing so. He, apparently, referred the matter to the 'ulema as he anticipated their opposition to any move for helping a non-Muslim chief against a Muslim ruler. But the fact that the 'ulema were not given an opportunity to have a say in the matter from beginning goes to indicate that their say in such matters was far from being decisive. They were used by the ruler according to his convenience.

Occasionally, these 'ulema and Mashaikh also played a role in negotiations between Malwa and Gujarat for resolving the disputes that bred conflicts between them. Both the rulers of Malwa as well as Gujarat had the tendency to use

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(1) For the diversion of Mahmud Begada's attention towards Dohad instead of Champanir, see, Sharfuddin Bukhari: pp-14-15; Haji-ud-Dabir: p.26; Sikander Manjhu: pp.135-36. Also see, Commissariat: p.194.

these people for this purpose. One advantage, that they perhaps hoped to gain from employing 'ulema and Mashaikh in their negotiations, was that the settlements thus arrived at, would have a legal sanctity in the eyes of Muslim nobles and chiefs. For example when on 12th Rabi I 822 A.H./1418-19 A.D., Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat marching with his army towards Mandu reached Dhar, Maulana Musa and Ali Jamdar (who were important figures of Sultan Hoshang's court) came to meet him as the latter's envoys. These ambassadors brought a request for peaceful settlement from Sultan Hoshang regretting some of his acts that had provoked the Gujarati ruler. Sultan Ahmad Shah I on the advice of his important ministers and nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk (Naib wazier), Malik Mahmud Turk, and Malik Husamuddin, accepted plea brought by these two persons and decided to return to Gujarat. (1) Similarly, when in 825 A.H./1422-23 A.D., Sultan Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat invaded Malwa on 12th Muharram, Sultan Hoshang Shah is reported to have sent his ambassadors to the Gujarati court for arranging peace in the name of Islam. (2) We do not know as to who were the persons

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(1) For the role of 'ulema and Mashaikh in the peace of 1418-19, between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa, see, Tarikh-i Alfi: p.366; Nizamuddin Ahmad: pp.454-55; Firishta: p.186; Sikander Manjhu: p.51. Also see, SC Misra: p.182.

(2) For the peace treaty of 1422-23 A.D. between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa, see, Sikander Manjhu: p.53. Also see, SC Misra: p.184.



sent on this occasion as Ilchis. But the fact that appeals for peace was made in the name of Islam and also the fact that these Ilchis did succeed in persuading the Gujarati ruler to withdraw, suggests that they, like the earlier occasion, were again prominent 'ulema.

In 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. after the Gujaratis succeeded in frustrating Sultan Mahmud Khaljis attempt to occupy a part of their kingdom, negotiations for peace were started on Mahmud Khaljis initiative. He sent Bandagi Hazrat Aqzul-Quzat Sadr-i-Jahan, Shaikh-ul Islam Nizamuddin, Shaikh Mahmud, Qazi Daniyal and Malik Lala Tayyab as his envoys for discussing terms for an enduring peace between the two states. The neutral territory of Champanir was chosen as the venue of these negotiations. Sadr-ul Quzat Qazi Husamuddin and Harhar (a Brahmin officer of Gujarat) came from Ahmadabad for participating in the talks. During the negotiation, the 'ulema and Mashaikh who had been deputed to represent Malwa, specially Shaikh-ul-Islam played a notable role. They stressed that the Gujarati envoys should talk to them as equals and not as the representatives for a power having superior claims over the other side. Besides other things, the Malwa envoys emphasized the religious basis

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(1) For the detail of this treaty of 1451-52 A.D., see, Chapter II, pp.5-7.

of relations of the two states and their common duty to suppress the Rana of Mewar. They argued that owing to war between the two Muslim rulers, the Rana and tother non-Muslim chiefs were able to improve their positions. After much discussion a treaty was finally concluded with the prior approval of the two rulers. The terms of the treaty were. (a) that both the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa agreed never to help the Rana of Mewar. (b) that both the rulers agreed that they would never try to extend their territorial <sup>limits</sup> at each other's cost. (c) that the two rulers would keep in touch with each other in future. (d) that out of the territories of Mewar comprising the vilayats of Sirohi, Kumbhalner, Ajmer, Nagor, and Mewar whatever had already been conquered by the Gujaratis would remain with them. The ruler of Malwa shall have the right to annex parts of these vilayats still under the control of Rana. <sup>(1)</sup>

This treaty between Gujarat and Malwa that is very correctly regarded a landmark in the history of mutual relations of the two powers was arranged with the help of the

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(1) According to Shihab Hakim; pp.75-76, the above treaty was concluded in 1451-52 A.D. while according to Firishta; pp.192, 250; Nahavandi; p.137, it was concluded in 1453-54 A.D. But Nizamuddin Ahmad; p.464; Haji-ud-Dabir; pp. 11-12; Sikander Manjhus; p.84, mention it in 1456-57 A.D. Also see, Commissariat; p.143.

'ulema and Mashaikh who were used from both the sides for representing their points of views. It is understandable that the terms of this treaty were formulated by making an appeal to the religious sentiments of the rulers of two states. The underlying assumption of the terms of the treaty was that the Muslim rulers are not permitted by the Shari'at to prolong their conflicts and they were enjoined to co-operate with each other in <sup>u</sup>putting down neighbouring non-Muslim powers. But it is obvious that the religious over-tones of the agreements arrived at only represented the pre-dilection of the persons who participated in the negotiations. So far as the rulers and their nobles were concerned the appeal to religious sentiments was acceptable only to the extent it facilitated their political and military aims. This treaty was particularly acceptable to Sultan Mahmud Khalji primarily because it nullified the superior claims that the rulers of Gujarat had come to acquire over the Malwa rulers as a result of Gujarati intervention in the Malwa affairs earlier. Moreover the treaty also ensured that in case of Mahmud Khalji invading Mewar subsequently, the rulers of Gujarat would not come in way of his annexing any part of the Mewar territory to his own kingdom.

There is evidence to suggest that the religious support underlying the treaty of 1451-52 A.D., continued

to be upheld by the 'ulema of Gujarat as well as Malwa subsequently. In 924 A.H./1517-18 A.D. when Muzaffar Shah II invaded Malwa for putting Medini Rai his action was enthusiastically upheld by the 'ulema. The Gujarati expedition on this occasion was hailed as Ghaza, aimed at ending non-Muslim domination in Malwa. According to Sikander Manjhu, on this occasion, some of the divines, accompanied the Gujarati expedition. Amongst them, name of one Syed Jalal Munawwar-ul-Mulk Bukhari and Malik Malayak Sifati Malik Mahmud are particularly mentioned. <sup>(1)</sup>

From the above discussion it appears that there lies a basic difference between the actual impact of the theocratic forces upon the state policies and superficial impression of their role created by the manner in which it is reported by the Persian chroniclers. It seems that the rulers of Gujarat as well as Malwa always had a tendency to find some convenient pretext to hide their real motive for pursuing a particular course of policy in their mutual relations. Religious slogans often came handy to them for this purpose.

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(1) For the participation of Jalal Munawwar-ul-Mulk Bukhari and Malik Mahmud in the war of 1517-18 from the side of Muzaffar Shah II, see, Sikander Manjhu: p.188.

In this manner these rulers perhaps hoped to gain the support and sympathy of the orthodox Muslims for their respective causes. It was direct corollary of the Sultans occasional attempts to use religious slogans for furtherance of their policy aims that they should try to cultivate the influential religious figures and use them in their political game. This gave the 'ulema and orthodox group of Mashaikh to deflect the state policies in such a manner that it should come to conform with their understanding to the provisions of shariat. In the mutual relations of Gujarat and Malwa, the influence of 'ulema and orthodox Mashaikh was exerted in favour of a policy that should unite them against the non-Muslim chiefs particularly Mewar. The treaty of 1451-52 A.D. between these states, was an indication of the success that 'ulema had achieved at that point of time influencing their relations. But, as we have argued above, the religious spirit that underlined the provisions of this treaty was far more being the basic factor moulding Gujarat - Malwa relations even in 1451-52 A.D. It was only a convenient Camouflage of the political exigencies that had forced Gujarat to agree to the ending of its superior claims of Malwa continuing for the preceding three decades or so.

## C O N C L U S I O N

The mutual relations of the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa were of a peculiar nature throughout their independence. On the one hand, these kingdoms were all the time fighting with each other, but this intermittent fighting, on the other hand, did not generally result in the absorption of one state by the other. In most cases these wars only contributed to peripheral adjustments, and a balance of power existed in this region until the kingdom of Malwa was finally extinguished by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1531-32 A.D.

As Gujarat and Malwa, both were immediate neighbours of the state of Mewar and looked with apprehension on the growing might of the Sisodia rulers, they naturally had a tendency to make a common cause against Mewar. On the other hand, Malwa's continuous pressure against Khandesh and Ahmadnagar as well as attempts on their part to instigate the zamindaris located in the heartland of Gujarat against its rulers, were resented by the latter and contributed to a state of tension between the two kingdoms. But Malwa was Geographically so protected by the sharp plateau-wall facing Gujarat that the rulers of Gujarat could not easily think of annexing it. In the north-west and west of Malwa were Vindhayan hills. Vindhayan rocks

which made it difficult for any power located in Gujarat to penetrate into the heartland of Malwa. It was this steep rise of the plateau on the Malwa side that tended to ensure Malwa's immunity from the sway of the Gujarati forces.

At the same time Gujarat was far more prosperous than Malwa and this prosperity reflected itself in the military strength of the kingdom of Gujarat, which made it difficult for Malwa to gain any military advantage over it. The reasons for the prosperity of the kingdom of Gujarat seems to be that it was very fertile, with large production of cotton and indigo, important textile manufactures and large overseas trade. <sup>(1)</sup> On the basis of these large resources, the kingdom of Gujarat had come to build a very large war machinery under Sultan Mahmud Begada. The same Sultan also introduced artillery in <sup>of</sup> his army because of the influence Ottomans. This naturally protected Gujarat from any kind of foreign domination.

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(1) For the production of cotton and indigo in Gujarat, see, Varthemas: pp.106-7; Tome Pires: vol.I, pp.43-44; Barbosa: Vol. I, p.154; Ain-i Akbari: Vol. I, p.97, II, pp.117, 248; Ali Muhammad Khan: Vol.III, p.7; India in the 15th Century (Nikitin): pp.8, 19, 93, (Stephano): p.9; Early Travels in India (Finch): p.175, (Nicholas Withington): p.204. Also see, Commercial Products of India: pp.464, 467, 476-77, 572, 581-82; Imperial Gazetteer: Vol.XII, pp.301-2; Moreland, India at the death of Akbar: pp.105, 112, 158, 167-71; From Akbar to Aurangzeb: pp.160-62; Irfan Habib: 42 & n, 74.

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There were several factors which operated to bring these two kingdoms close to each other and also occasionally generated tension in their mutual relations.

One such factor was the anxiety of the rulers of Gujarat to ensure that the Malwa kingdom should not be able to augment its strength by annexing territories from neighbouring kingdoms. The Gujarati rulers were all the time apprehensive that if Malwa would succeed in extending its sway over Deccan, Jajnagar, Khandesh or Gangetic plains, it would in the long run disturb the existing balance of power in the region. That is why we find that whenever the rulers of Malwa made any aggressive moves against Khandesh, Deccan, Jajnagar or Delhi, the kingdom of Gujarat did not remain indifferent to that development. In all such situations it would invariably make a counter move to thwart the territorial expansion of the Malwa kingdom.

The Sultans of Gujarat always tried to ensure that only a ruler overtly friendly to them should be allowed to reign at Mandu. To achieve this aim, the rulers of Gujarat repeatedly intervened in the affairs of Malwa, specially in 810 A.H./1407-8 A.D., 906 A.H./1500-01 A.D. and 923 A.H./1517-18 A.D. In this connection, an intervention by Gujaratis on the pretext of punishing a prince or nobles responsible



for killing or overthrowing a reigning monarch, was a recurring phenomenon. These interventions by the rulers of Gujarat were with the limited aim of ensuring that either a ruler of Malwa friendly to Gujarat is not allowed to be eliminated, or that the person coming to the throne, after his elimination should also be forced to remain on friendly terms with them.

For maintaining the balance of power within the region, the rulers of Malwa, always tried to assert their independence from Gujarati domination and intervention. On the one hand, they resisted the Gujarati demand that the rulers of Malwa should continue to fulfill the obligations agreed to by Hoshang Shah at the time of his rise of power with the help of Muzaffar Shah I. They tried to force the Gujarati ruler to re-define their mutual relations in such a fashion that the two powers are placed at par with each other. In this connection the terms agreed between Gujarat and Malwa in 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. are important. On the other hand, the rulers of Malwa down to 889 A.H./1484-85 A.D. persistently tried to weaken the Gujaratis by helping the rebellious nobles and Rajput zamindars in the eventuality of a cleavage between them and the Gujarati rulers. But it is significant that on all such occasions the rulers of Malwa did not try to rationalize or justify their action with

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reference to any kind of claims that they might be having over the kingdom of Gujarat. These actions of the rulers of Malwa were pure and simple arbitrary military moves aimed at weakening their rivals so that they were not in a position to dominate over them. But for making any such move the Malwa rulers always waited for invitation from one or the other section of the Gujarati nobles or zamindars. This attitude of the rulers of Malwa was in sharp contrast to that of the Gujarati rulers.

Although the attempts on the part of the rulers of Malwa to weaken the Gujarati kingdom, by and large, failed on every occasion. But till 888-89 A.H./1484-85 A.D., they were quite successful in making an effective check on Gujarati expansion towards Vindhayan plateau. However, after the annexation of Champanir, Gujaratis were able to gain foot-hold in a terrain of higher altitude from where advance into Malwa was comparatively easier. This proved to be beginning of the establishment of Gujarati hegemony over the Malwa. Thereafter the rulers of Malwa were never able to intervene in the affairs of Gujarat with the help of the rebellious nobles and zamindars. On the other hand Gujaratis again assumed the role of a superior power in their relations with Malwa. After Muzaffar Shah II's intervention

in Malwa in 919 A.H./1513-14 A.D., the Khalji ruler of Mandu was reduced to the position of his protege.

The rulers of Gujarat and Malwa throughout co-operated with each other in their efforts to check the expansion of the state of Mewar. It seems that both of them did not like to see the growing might of strong Sisodia principality of South-eastern Rajputana. So they decided to check this serious threat to their security jointly. It was, apparently, on account of this situation that these states concluded the treaty of 855 A.H./1451-52 A.D. which stipulated their mutual assistance against the Rana. The terms of this treaty was observed by the two powers in letter as well as spirit. The two powers repeatedly co-operated with each other against Mewar and annexed territories from it. In 923 A.H./1517-18 A.D., 925 A.H./1519-20 A.D. and 926 A.H./1520-21 A.D., Malwa was protected by Gujarat kingdom from the pressure that was being continuously put against it by Rana Sanga.

The fifteenth century chronicle of Malwa Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi as well as histories written during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries like, Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi, Tarikh-i-Firishta, Mirat-i-Sikandari and Mirat-i-Ahmadi regard that religious antagonism was one of the primary factor conditioning the attitude of the kingdoms of Malwa

and Gujarat towards Mewar. But this is not borne out fully by the evidence that we have relating to the attitude of these two powers towards non-Muslim states in general. Sultan Ahmad Shah's invasion of Malwa in 825 A.H./1421-22 A.D., at a time when its ruler, Hoshang Shah, was conducting military operation against the ruler of Jajnagar, and Malwa rulers repeated help to the non-Muslim zamindars of Idar, Champenir, Mandal, Jhalawar, Nadod etc. in their struggle against the Gujarati Sultans, are the instances that go to suggest that religious sentiments did not generally prevent them from allying themselves with non-Muslim powers to oppose a Muslim adversary. It seems that what brought them together against the Rana of Mewar was not religious affinity, but their common fear of the growing might of Mewar under Rana Kumbha and Rana Sanga respectively. It was partly owing to the role that the 'ulema and Mashaikh were allowed to play in negotiating the bilateral relations of Malwa and Gujarat that the aims of their common struggle against Mewar came to be stated in a language have patently religious overtones.

The features defining Malwa-Gujarat relations discussed above appear to have continued with slight modifications down to Malwa's annexation by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 937 A.H./1531-32 A.D. The change in the Gujarat

policy towards Malwa facilitating its annexation may be attributed to two important developments. Firstly, it seems, the rise of a highly centralised state in north India in the post 1526 period had made it difficult for Malwa to survive as an independent power. The Mughal thrusts against Chanderi (1528-29 A.D.) and Kalinjar (1530-31 A.D.)<sup>(1)</sup> had made it evident that they were planning Malwa's annexation. Bahadur Shah, apparently, realised that the annexation of Malwa to the Mughal Empire would make his own position untenable. After Malwa, quite understandably, Gujarat would have been the next target of Mughal expansionism. He, therefore, tried to pre-empt the annexation of Malwa to the Mughal Empire by bringing it under his direct rule in 1531-32 A.D. Another factor prompting Bahadur Shah to adopt this course in his policy towards Malwa was the growing accretion of the Gujarati military strength resulting from the introduction of more sophisticated kind of light artillery in Gujarat from around 1507 A.D. onwards, which came mainly from West Asia.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) For the conquest of Chanderi in 1528-29 A.D. and Kalinjar in 1530-31 A.D. by Mughals, see, Babur Nama. pp. 190-91; Akbar Nama: Vol. I, p. 123.

(2) For the introduction of light artillery in the army of Gujarat around 1507 A.D. from West Asia, see, Ali Muhammed Khan: Vol. I, p. 125. Also see, Iqtidar Alam Khan, Coming of Gun-powder and the Response of Indian Polity: 1980, p. 32.

This artillery was less cumbersome to move than in the uneven tract separating Gujarati heartland from the Vindhayan plateau. Moreover, by this time, the Gujaratis had already acquired hand guns and were in a position to use them in the battles fought in open fields.<sup>(1)</sup> Bahadur Shah had, apparently, calculated that with his superior fire powers he was not only in a position to overrun Malwa and Mewar, but was also strong enough to confront the Mughals and stop their southward advance.

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(1) The use of handguns in the army of Gujarat is being referred by even Duarte Barbosa and this reference pertains to the year 1518 A.D. See, The Book of Duarte Barbosa; Vol. I, p.118.

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